

# THE ANDOVER REVIEW

VOLUME V.—PUBLISHED MONTHLY.—NUMBER XXX.

JUNE, 1886

## CONTENTS

	PAGE
1. THE GROUP SYSTEM OF COLLEGE STUDIES IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY. <i>President Gilman</i> . . . . .	564
2. THE HARVARD "NEW EDUCATION." <i>Professor G. H. Howison</i> . . . . .	577
3. INDIVIDUALISM IN EDUCATION. <i>John H. Denison, D. D.</i> . . . .	589
4. MCMASTER'S HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES. <i>Hon. Mel- len Chamberlain</i> . . . . .	594
5. THE SPIRITUAL PROBLEM OF THE MANUFACTURING TOWN. III. <i>William W. Adams, D. D.</i> . . . . .	611
6. EDITORIAL.	
The Question once more — What it is not and what it is . . . . .	632
The Insensibility of Certain Classes to Moral Obligations . . . . .	633
The Participation of Alumni in the Government of Colleges . . . . .	639
7. THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE. . . . .	645
A General View of Missions. II. India. <i>Rev. Charles C. Starbuck</i> . . . . .	
8. HISTORICAL CRITICISM — ANCIENT RELIGIONS . . . . .	656
Native Worship in South Africa — Zulu Hades — Doctors of Divination and Spiritual- ism. <i>Rev. J. Tyler</i> . . . . .	
9. BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES . . . . .	660
Dexter's Yale Biographies and Annals. — McLennan's Recent Discussions of the Pa- triarchal Theory. — Stevenson's Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. — Meta Lan- der's The Tobacco Problem. — Ragozin's The Story of Chaldea. — Droysen's Allgemeiner Historischer Hand-Atlas. — Müller's A Simplified Grammar of the Pāli Language. — Harper's Elements of Hebrew by an Inductive Method. — Harper's Introductory Hebrew Method and Manual. . . . .	
10. BOOKS RECEIVED . . . . .	672

BOSTON  
HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY

NEW YORK: 11 EAST SEVENTEENTH STREET

*The Riverside Press, Cambridge*

LONDON: WARD, LOCK & CO., WARWICK HOUSE, SALISBURY SQUARE

Entered at the Post Office at Boston as second-class matter

TERMS—SINGLE NUMBERS, 35 CENTS

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, \$4.00

# HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & COMPANY'S LATEST PUBLICATIONS.

## THE WIND OF DESTINY.

By ARTHUR SHERBURNE HARDY, author of "But Yet a Woman." 1 vol. 16mo, \$1.25.

The scenes of this novel are partly in Europe, partly in America. It is even stronger and more interesting than Professor Hardy's earlier novel, which had so remarkable popularity; and is in the same pure, bracing atmosphere which made that so wholesome and tonic.

## ST. GREGORY'S GUEST, AND RECENT POEMS.

By JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER. 16mo, parchment, \$1.00.

Mr. Whittier has here collected the poems he has written since the publication of "The Bay of Seven Islands" in 1883.

## SIGNS AND SEASONS.

By JOHN BURROUGHS, author of "Wake Robin," "Fresh Fields," etc. 16mo, gilt top, \$1.50.

CONTENTS: A Sharp Lookout; A Spray of Pine; Hard Fare; Tragedies of the Nests; A Snow Storm; A Taste of Maine Birch; Winter Neighbors; A Salt Breeze; Spring Relish; A River View; Bird Enemies; Phases of Farm Life; Roof-Tree.

A delightful book of out-door and domestic life.

## CALIFORNIA.

From the Conquest in 1846 to the Second Vigilance Committee in San Francisco. A Study of American Character. Vol. VII. in series of American Commonwealths. By JOSIAH ROYCE, Assistant Professor of Philosophy in Harvard College. With a fine Map. 16mo, gilt top, \$1.25.

Dr. Royce is a native Californian, is acquainted with the State as a citizen, and by very careful research he has collected in a single volume the curious and remarkably instructive facts which the unique history of California offers.

## THE AUTHORSHIP OF SHAKESPEARE.

By NATHANIEL HOLMES. New Edition, greatly enlarged. 2 vols. 12mo, gilt top, \$4.00.

Judge Holmes is a firm believer in the theory that Lord Bacon wrote the plays which bear Shakespeare's name. His work on the subject is unquestionably the fullest and most worthy of attention of all the books ever written to prove this thesis.

## HAMLET'S NOTE-BOOK.

By W. D. O'CONNOR. Crown 8vo, \$1.00.

An important contribution to the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy. It comprises a thorough-going and brilliant defense of Mrs. Pott's "Promus" against the attacks of Richard Grant White. Incidentally it has an entirely new and striking theory of the authorship and purpose of the Sonnets, and closes with a powerful parallel between the lives of Bacon and Shakespeare.

## GENTLEMEN'S MAGAZINE LIBRARY.

Vol. V. ARCHEOLOGY, GEOLOGICAL AND HISTORIC. 8vo, cloth, \$2.50; Roxburgh, printed on hand-made paper, \$3.50 net; Large-paper edition, Roxburgh (50 copies for America), printed on hand-made paper, \$6.00 net.

This volume deals with prehistoric and early historic archæology, and records all the numerous barrow openings and other excavations which were reported to the Gentleman's Magazine.

## VOICES FOR THE SPEECHLESS.

Selections for Schools and Private Reading. Compiled by ABRAHAM FIRTH, lately Secretary of the American Humane Association. New Edition, enlarged. 16mo, \$1.00.

## ONE SUMMER.

By BLANCHE WILLIS HOWARD, author of "One Year Abroad," "Aulnay Tower," etc. New Popular Edition. With forty-three Illustrations by AUGUSTUS HOPPIN. 1 vol. 12mo, \$1.25 (previous price \$2.50).

\*.\* For sale by all Booksellers. Sent by mail, post-paid, on receipt of price by the Publishers,

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY,

4 PARK STREET, BOSTON; 11 EAST SEVENTEENTH STREET, NEW YORK.

.  
ore  
the

of

50.  
ow  
er

ly  
H  
0,  
al  
e

-  
n

g  
-

l

g

g

g

g

22





# TRIUMPHANT DEMOCRACY;

OR, FIFTY YEARS' MARCH OF THE REPUBLIC.

By ANDREW CARNEGIE.

One Volume, 8vo, \$2.00.

---

The Boston *Beacon* says:

A copy of "Triumphant Democracy" should be placed in every school library in the United States.

The New York *Tribune* says:

Mr. Carnegie takes the dry summaries of the census, and with a few striking illustrations turns them into wonder tales.

The Philadelphia *Ledger* says:

"Triumphant Democracy" is an epic of material progress.

The Chicago *Tribune* says:

It is a valuable and important contribution to the literature and history of the country.

The Evansville (Ind.) *Tribune-News* says:

One of the grandest eulogies ever written upon our Democratic form of government.

The San Francisco *Ingleside* says:

It is a grand milestone on the path of American progress.

The Charleston (S. C.) *News* says:

All students of politics and sociology will do well to give it a careful examination.

The Brooklyn *Times* says:

It is an encyclopædia of American life, yet has not a prosy page.

The Harrisburg (Pa.) *Church Advocate* says:

It reads more like a romance than a book of naked facts.

The New York *Critic* says:

We hope it may be read abroad, and we hope it may be read at home.

The Utica *Press* says:

"Triumphant Democracy" is a book that every American should read, and it should find a place in every library.

---

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

## AN AMERICAN FOUR-IN-HAND IN BRITAIN.

One volume, 8vo, \$2.00.

## ROUND THE WORLD.

One volume, 8vo, \$2.50.

---

\*.\* These books for sale by all booksellers, or sent, post-paid, on receipt of price by

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, 743 & 745 Broadway, New York.

# THE ANDOVER REVIEW:

*A Monthly Magazine of Religion, Theology, Social Science, and Literature.*

EDITED BY

EGBERT C. SMYTH, WILLIAM J. TUCKER, J. W. CHURCHILL,  
GEORGE HARRIS, EDWARD Y. HINCKS,

*Professors in Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass., with the  
coöperation and active support of their colleagues in the Faculty,*

*Professors JOHN P. GULLIVER, JOHN PHELPS TAYLOR,  
GEORGE F. MOORE, and FRANK E. WOODRUFF.*

## THE ANDOVER REVIEW

FOR 1886.

The success which has attended the publication of the ANDOVER REVIEW for the past two years has led to its establishment upon a permanent financial basis. Commencing the year 1886 with increased resources, the REVIEW will be enlarged with each monthly issue to 112 pages, making an aggregate for the year of 1344 pages, and the annual price of subscription will be \$4.00; single copies, 35 cents.

THE ANDOVER REVIEW is a Religious and Theological Monthly, advocating the principles and methods of what is now known as Progressive Orthodoxy, but its discussions are not confined to the field of Theology. It is already recognized "as a strong expounder of the social questions of the day, promising a future of great influence." In future, articles upon Sociology will be supplemented by a department of Sociological Notes under the charge of the Rev. S. W. DIKE.

A Geographical and Missionary Department will also be added, under the care of Rev. C. C. STARBUCK.

Educational discussions will be continued, notably that introduced by Professor Palmer, of Harvard, in the November number.

The Moral Aspects of Literary Topics will be considered in special papers.

A Series of articles upon Church Architecture, by Professor Churchill, will begin in an early number.

The Editorial and other departments will be conducted as heretofore, with increased attention to Book Reviews.

*Back numbers for 1884 and 1885 can be supplied for \$3.00 a year or the four bound volumes for \$10.00.*

*Postal Notes and Money are at the risk of the sender, and therefore remittances should be made by money-order, draft, or registered letter, to*

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY,

4 PARK STREET, BOSTON, MASS.

# THE ANDOVER REVIEW.

## NOTICES OF THE PRESS.

The Andover Review for November opens with a paper on "The New Education," by Professor Palmer, of Harvard, which is a vigorous defense. It is to be followed in the succeeding numbers with further discussions by other teachers. This is putting a review to good service. The editorial work is full, rich, and spicy as usual. — *The Independent* (New York).

People look with expectancy to the Andover Review for fresh and popular treatment of social and ethical subjects, as well as for scholarly criticisms and able handling of theological and philosophical problems. — *Christian Union* (New York).

The Review closes its first year with a record of work in the sphere of theology, philosophy, criticism, and social discussion which has never been surpassed in English periodical literature, and has made a strong impression upon the religious and thoughtful life of the whole country. Its more original articles have gone far to instruct the minds and change the opinions of the leaders of thought. — *Boston Herald*.

The Andover Review of March has a very sensible editorial article on Common School Methods. It would be useful to take this essay, convert it into a tract, and circulate it widely among teachers, parents, and Boards of Education. It certainly would give them something to think of. — *New York Observer*.

The Andover Review is maintaining the high position which it took in the religious and intellectual world with its first number. In our judgment it has no equal in the field which it occupies. — *The Advance* (Chicago).

Always liberal and progressive, it has been an honest exponent of modern religious thought, though none the less orthodox in all the essentials of Christianity. Every leading question has

been discussed, thoughtfully and ably, by some of the preëminent theological writers of the age. It not only discusses the theoretical questions that agitate the time, but is strong and practical in dealing with the great questions rising constantly in the work of the church throughout the world. — *The Daily American* (Nashville).

The first volume of the Andover Review has been, certainly, a brilliant success in the patronage it has secured, in the cordial reception it has received from both the religious and secular press, and in the ability and variety of its literary and apologetic contributions. — *Zion's Herald* (Boston).

In its thoroughly satisfactory progress, the Andover Review has become a strong expounder of social questions of the day, and promises a future of great influence. It is both earnest and thoroughly alive to current thought, and looks to the highest in morality and religion. — *Boston Journal*.

We hear no review more frequently referred to or quoted from nowadays than the Andover Review, which seems to have confronted the public mind—the thinking sides of it—in an unusual degree, and to be awakening, if not forming, public opinions on a good many important questions. — *Literary World* (Boston).

The Andover Review, for the average preacher, is the best in this country. It is versatile, up to the times, scholarly, non-sectarian, evangelical, progressive. Besides, it is a monthly; thus by its frequency making its appearance the more welcome. It always comes to hand promptly at the first of the month. — *Missionary Record* (St. Louis).

In every number we find something to be especially preserved. — *The Churchman* (New York).



GOLD MEDAL, PARIS, 1878.

**BAKER'S**

**Vanilla Chocolate,**

Like all our chocolates, is prepared with the greatest care, and consists of a superior quality of cocoa and sugar, flavored with pure vanilla bean. Served as a drink, or eaten dry as confectionery, it is a delicious article, and is highly recommended by tourists.

Sold by Grocers everywhere.

**W. BAKER & CO., Dorchester, Mass.**



GOLD MEDAL, PARIS, 1878.

**BAKER'S**

**Breakfast Cocoa.**

Warranted absolutely pure Cocoa, from which the excess of Oil has been removed. It has three times the strength of Cocoa mixed with Starch, Arrowroot or Sugar, and is therefore far more economical, costing less than one cent a cup. It is delicious, nourishing, strengthening, easily digested, and admirably adapted for invalids as well as for persons in health.

Sold by Grocers everywhere.

**W. BAKER & CO., Dorchester, Mass.**

If you want the Best Writing Paper and Envelopes for Correspondence and all the uses of Polite Society, ask your Stationer for

**"WHITING'S STANDARD,"**

made by Whiting Paper Co., Holyoke, Mass. These goods are the most perfect product of the Paper-maker's art. Cream and azure; rough and smooth finish; all sizes.

JUST ISSUED:

## A LIVING FAITH.

BY

GEORGE S. MERRIAM.

*Second Edition, with Postscript.*

To see this little book again, after it has been so long out of print, is like seeing the face of an old friend again. Few of those who read it in its first edition ten years ago have forgotten it, or, in the midst of so many succeeding books of its kind, have lost their admiration and affection for it as a rare helper in the good life. . . . The matter is unchanged; and a postscript is added, in which, after noting the gradual surrender of the older dogmas by the evangelical churches since the book first appeared, the writer goes on to develop what he calls an additional thought, but which is really a more impressive statement of the thought which, whether given in form anywhere else or not, is the thought left in the mind of the reader after finishing the book,—that "the problem set to every man is not to explain the universe, but to rightly live his own life."—*Christian Register.*

Price \$1.00.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

THE WAY OF LIFE. . . . \$1.00

\*. For sale by Booksellers, or sent, post-paid, by

GEORGE H. ELLIS, Publisher,

141 Franklin Street . . . . . BOSTON.

## THE SOUTHERN BIVOUC.

ILLUSTRATED.

B. F. AVERY & SONS, Publishers,  
Louisville, Ky.

Send 20 cents for Sample Copy or \$2.00 for Annual Subscription. \$1.00 six months.

For Sale by all Newsdealers.

### CONTENTS FOR JUNE.

I.	R. A. Wilkinson.
The Sugar Fields of Louisiana.	
Profusely Illustrated.	
II.	F. L. Oswald.
Our Last Hunting Grounds.	
III.	Paul H. Hayne.
Charles Gayarre, Statesman.	
With Portraits.	
IV.	Edward Atkinson.
Postal or Local Savings Bank.	
V.	W. R. Belknap.
The Hobby of Holmes.	
VI.	R. H. Musser.
The War in Missouri.	
VII.	Margaret J. Preston.
Charmed Life.	
VIII.	Caleb Ross.
The Destruction of Louisville.	
IX.	A. E. Richards.
General Turner Ashby.	
X.	
Comment and Criticism.	
XI.	
Editor's Table.	
XII.	
Salmagundi.	

THE  
ANDOVER REVIEW:  
*A RELIGIOUS AND THEOLOGICAL MONTHLY.*

VOL. V.—JUNE, 1886.—No. XXX.

---

THE GROUP SYSTEM OF COLLEGE STUDIES IN  
THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

THE Johns Hopkins University of Baltimore was opened to students in the autumn of 1876, so that it can contribute to the discussions now in progress the experience of only a single decade. Nevertheless, the circumstances of its foundation were so exceptional that the development of its plans may be of interest to those who are studying the problems of higher education elsewhere in America, and I willingly comply with a request to describe them.

The founder, whose name it bears, was a merchant; he had grown up in the Society of Friends, had lived to old age, and had been accustomed, at least during the latter part of his life, to deal with important affairs in a large way. For several years prior to his death he gave thought to the distribution of his estate, and having neither wife nor children to provide for, he decided, after making provision for his near relatives, to found two institutions,—a hospital and a university. "These foundations will always live and be useful," said one of the Friends who advised him, "for there will always be the young to educate and the suffering to relieve." To each of these objects he gave a sum of nearly three and a half millions of dollars, already well invested. His gifts, remarkable both for their purposes and their amount, were still more noteworthy for the very free and liberal manner in which the two trusts were organized. Mr. Hopkins was favored by the guidance of the best of legal counsel, but only a strong, large-minded man could have purposely left so great a bequest so free from trammels. In the present article I do not propose to speak of the hospital, except to say that the founder expressed his wish that it should ultimately be a part of the university, in

order that the future students of medicine might have in it opportunities for observing the treatment of disease and for contributing to the relief of suffering. To secure the most harmonious relations, nine of the twelve trustees of the hospital were likewise members of the university board. The sagacity of the founder was still further shown by his selection of the original trustees, — all Baltimoreans of well-known standing, several of them being professional men, and the rest being in active business. It would be difficult in any community to appoint better guardians for an important public interest. Each board is self-perpetuating.

On the death of Johns Hopkins, in December, 1873, his trustees found themselves face to face with the problem of the establishment of a university. They were well aware that the opportunity was exceptional, and that the wisest counsels were requisite in order that the highest good should be secured. Before choosing any member of the Faculty they visited the most successful institutions of this country; they invited gentlemen of great experience to come to Baltimore and confer with them upon the local as well as the general aspects of the question; they collected the histories and reports of universities and colleges in other lands; they thus became of one mind in respect to the scope and purposes of the institution which they were to organize.

Mr. Hopkins wisely made no attempt to define a university. With this disputed question he did not trouble himself. His only specific requirements were the establishment of so many free scholarships as might be thought wise for the education of young men from Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina; and careful attention to a very important block of his investments.

Before proceeding further with the story of the university, let me add a few words with respect to its environment.

Among the cities of the United States Baltimore is noteworthy not merely for its geographical position and connections, but for its social condition. It has a marked individuality which has been preserved if not protected since the colonial days. So far as its characteristics are historic I need not mention them, for they have attracted the attention of many observers; but there are some developments of institutional life that have appeared since the close of the civil war, which are full of vigor and promise and which are constantly attracting the attention of the citizens of other places.

Within a brief period large endowments have been given towards the foundation of a university, a hospital, a free lending library, and an athensæum. The latter, known as the Peabody



Institute,<sup>1</sup> includes a reference library of an admirable character for the use of scholars, a conservatory of music, a gallery of art, and a foundation for public lectures. The free lending library with its branches is the munificent gift of Mr. Enoch Pratt. The hospital may fitly be classed among educational establishments, for although its primary purpose will always be the relief of suffering, arrangements are to be made in connection with it for the education of physicians and for the training of nurses. The *plant* of these four foundations, including both the income-bearing capital and the capital invested in books and buildings, may be estimated at the sum of ten or twelve million dollars. Several private collections also deserve mention, for they have generously been opened by the owners from time to time to the use of students; especially the gallery of paintings and the oriental museums of Mr. W. T. Walters; the Claghorn collection of engravings, owned by Mr. T. Harrison Garrett; and the art library of Mr. J. W. McCoy. There are numerous well-endowed charities, among them those of Thomas Wilson, which have been instituted within the period named, and are of more or less educational significance; and there are many literary and scientific foundations of an earlier origin.

I name these various institutions, without attempting to describe them, in order that persons at a distance may know something of the circumstances in which the Johns Hopkins University is placed, — an environment which, to those who are engaged in its development, seems peculiarly favorable. The society of Baltimore is conservative, — not disposed to welcome any ill-considered or ill-advised deviations from the historic continuity of institutional life, — and yet it is so intelligent and hospitable that it gives a generous reception to ideas and methods which the experience of other places has proved to be advantageous. The Johns Hopkins University was planted in a congenial soil, and at a favorable epoch. It is true that there had been no collective efforts to secure the new establishment. The University of Maryland, especially in its Faculties of Law and Medicine, had done good work for more than half a century; there was a thriving city college; there were colleges aided by the State in the central, eastern, and western parts of Maryland. There were strong denominational ties which bound the ministers and the religious laymen of Baltimore to colleges which were known to be identified with their ecclesiastical preferences. Under these circumstances it is almost

<sup>1</sup> Founded in 1857.

certain that if that which is generally known as a "college," and that alone, had been organized, it would have languished, or would have merely superseded institutions already in progress.

Fortunately the founder (who, although not a man of liberal education, nor one familiar with the methods of universities, was a man of foresight and sagacity), fortunately, I say, the founder determined not to enlarge the resources of existing institutions; not to distribute his gifts over a wide area; not to establish a college; not to identify his plans with the religious body in which he had been trained; but to begin "a university." The funds which he gave, though sometimes over-estimated, and not equal in amount to those possessed by several of the institutions at the North, were ample enough for the initiation of a very great work; the act of incorporation and his will were drawn with consummate skill, so as to leave the trustees free in the development of the plans; and the details of organization, management, and policy were left to a body of carefully chosen citizens, in which professional distinction and financial experience, as I have already said, were happily combined. It is quite too soon to pronounce upon the plans of an institution established for the benefit of many generations, or to determine the wisdom of the methods which have been adopted; but it is possible to discover the spirit of the originators and the tendency of their efforts, and also to develop the criticisms, both favorable and unfavorable, of intelligent observers from distant places, and even from foreign lands. It is not my purpose in this place to defend or to advocate the organization which has been adopted, but simply to exhibit the principles by which the managers have been governed.

From the beginning the university idea has been dominant. The act of incorporation, the official title, the will of the founder, alike pointed to the establishment of a university. The trustees and the professors whom they selected were alike agreed upon this point. The records show that they have never faltered in this respect. The difficulty has been to determine, first, what is essential to a university, and second, the order in which the constituent elements should be introduced.

It is worthy of note that the discussion of these questions came up in Baltimore at a time when throughout the civilized world the improvement of universities was engrossing the attention of the wisest men and of the most enlightened states. Never, in the history of mankind, had the like consideration been given to the methods of the highest education. A mere enumera-

tion of the reports, histories, controversial pamphlets, and programmes on collegiate and university education which have been printed within the last quarter of a century would fill many pages of this "Review," and would show an amount of attention, on the part of the foremost men of the times, unequaled in the history of education. It was clear to the trustees of the Johns Hopkins foundation that while the seas were so much agitated, and the quiet conditions of ordinary navigation were so disturbed, a new bark with a new crew should move cautiously. The authorities determined, therefore, to institute, at first, but a single Faculty, the Philosophical; and when that was well under way, to add the Faculty of Medicine; and to postpone indefinitely the consideration of the Faculties of Law and Theology. To the Philosophical Faculty the widest significance was given. It was regarded as legitimately including all branches of mathematical and natural science, all languages and literature, together with the moral, political, and social sciences; not that all these subjects could possibly be taught in the new university, but that any of them might be, and many of them should be. All tendencies to divide the Faculty of Philosophy into opposing sections of science and letters, philosophical-philological, and mathematical-physical, or the like, were strenuously opposed.

Another principle recognized at the outset was this, — that the freedom which is generally conceded to university life should presuppose collegiate discipline. Accordingly, special opportunities were offered to young men who had already taken their first academic degree. They were expected upon entrance to present their diplomas; they were enrolled as graduate students; great privileges were accorded to them; and courses of study were marked out for them leading to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and Master of Arts. Unfortunately the baccalaureate degree of an American college does not of necessity imply a liberal education. Many are admitted to it whose attainments are inferior to those of a bright and well-trained school-boy. Nevertheless it is a symbol which cannot be wholly disregarded, because of the idea which it carries, and which is so thoroughly recognized throughout the world of letters. It would indeed be well for this country if there could be an academic league for the protection of degrees, and there are signs that such a union is coming; meanwhile it is something when a corporate body, authorized to confer degrees, declares that a young man has successfully pursued a collegiate course of study. The professional schools of this country might reasonably

demand at least this amount of evidence that their pupils are prepared for advanced studies.

The idea that university education should be based upon collegiate training is generally admitted, — except in the United States. On the Continent, in the United Kingdom, in the British Provinces, a sharp distinction is made between the disciplinary methods of the gymnasium, the lycée, and the college on the one hand, and the freer methods of the university on the other. This distinction the authorities in Baltimore have endeavored to emphasize. Professor Gildersleeve in an article in the "Princeton Review" treated the subject with great clearness, and his views received full consideration from his colleagues in the incipient stages of the university. Three of them had been trained in English universities, and were entirely familiar with usages which in this country had been neglected. The trustees and the Faculty alike believed that the college should be a place for the training of youth by positive disciplinary methods, and that the university should be a place for the freer development of intellectual character, the perpetuation of knowledge, and the encouragement of researches in all departments of literature and science. This fundamental distinction has been amplified and reiterated in the official announcements.

Every effort was accordingly made by the Johns Hopkins University to encourage young men to pursue collegiate courses before attempting advanced and professional studies, and the result has been that of nearly a thousand students who have been enrolled more than half entered as the holders of diplomas, and were therefore entitled from the first to be ranked among graduate or university students. To be precise, 535 students have entered here as "graduates," and 388 as "undergraduates," — many of the latter having afterwards studied here as "graduates."

Many persons, even in Baltimore, have supposed that there is no undergraduate or collegiate department in the Johns Hopkins University, and others still suppose that such a department has been forced upon the authorities by public opinion. Both these suppositions are erroneous. From the beginning the plans included collegiate instruction for those who were not ready for graduate work. The standard of admission was placed high, in order that boys might be encouraged to remain in the neighboring schools and colleges until their studies were carried through what is commonly known as the Freshman stage. As a consequence of this requirement, those who have been "matriculated" as under-

graduates have proved to be exceptionally good in their intellectual character and habits, and a very large percentage have gone forward to the bachelor's degree.

In the collegiate work the earliest question to be encountered was the familiar difficulty of "the curriculum." There were many persons ready to give their opinion, and to support it by cogent arguments, that the traditional course of the American colleges was so nearly perfect that it should not only be established by the law of the university, but that it alone should be recognized. At the opposite extreme of opinion were many enlightened persons, who believed that the slightest possible restrictions should be placed upon the undergraduate's choice. These opposite views demanded one curriculum and no curriculum. An intermediate course was adopted. Several parallel schemes were arranged, which were of equal length and assumed to be equally difficult. They led to the same degree. They were spoken of as equally honorable. While precedence was given to the classical course, and while many, if not all, the original staff would have given it their preference if one course must be so honored, no official efforts were made to secure for it exceptional recognition. Every undergraduate was expected, with the advice of his parents, to determine which group he would adopt. He was also assigned to the care of one of the academic staff, who would act as his adviser, and whose counsel he might seek in familiar and friendly interviews. It was possible for a student to change from one group to another if good reason could be shown, but these changes have not been frequent.

This system of groups was one with which I had been quite familiar in the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale College, where, after a preliminary or Freshman year, the scholar elects a prescribed combination of studies, an arrangement which, so far as I know, has worked well from the time when it was formulated until now. It was also, in substance, the arrangement adopted in the University of California, where the law of the State required the maintenance of distinct colleges. It has also been tried elsewhere in this country. It is quite in accordance with the various plans of attaining academic honors in the English universities. The more I see of the working of this plan the more satisfactory does it appear. Sufficient variety is allowed to meet the requirements of modern society and the wants of ordinary students; sufficient authority is exercised to prevent the student from shirking and from being listless and discursive.

Each group enforces the study of language and literature; of mathematics and other exact sciences; and of historical and moral sciences; but the proportions of the different studies vary. The different combinations have sometimes received these names:—

1. The Classical group,—corresponding closely with what has been hitherto known in this country as the usual college course;

2. The Mathematical-Physical,—which meets the wants of those who are expecting to enter upon the modern vocations in which rigid mathematical discipline is indispensable;

3. The Chemical-Biological, or the Preliminary Medical,—chiefly intended for those who expect at a later day to pursue the study of Medicine;

4. The Physical-Chemical,—leading to scientific pursuits which are neither chiefly mathematical nor chiefly biological;

5. The Latin-Mathematical,—which affords a good fundamental training, without prolonged attention to the study of Greek;

6. The Historical-Political,—which furnishes a basis for the subsequent study of Law;

7. The Modern Language group,—in which French, German, English, and, in exceptional cases, other modern languages, take the place of Latin and Greek in the traditional classical course.

The studies which are found in all these courses are,—Logic, Ethics, and Psychology; Physical Geography, and History; English, French, and German; a laboratory course for at least one year; and also Physical Culture, Vocal Culture, and Drawing.

I do not consider these designations as felicitous,—but they are convenient. Personally I prefer the phrases which were employed here a few years ago, when the groups were thus announced, for example,—

1. *For one who wishes a good Classical training*; marked proficiency in Greek and Latin; in addition, Modern Languages, Philosophy, and one scientific subject.

2. *For one who looks towards a course in Medicine*; marked proficiency in Biology and either Chemistry or Physics; in addition, either Chemistry or Physics, Modern Languages, and Philosophy.

3. *For one who prefers Mathematical Studies, with reference to Engineering, Astronomy, Teaching, etc.*; marked proficiency in Mathematics and Physics; in addition, Modern Languages, Philosophy, and Chemistry.

4. *For one who wishes an education in Scientific Studies, not*



having chosen his specialty; marked proficiency in Mathematics, and in either Chemistry, Physics, or Biology; in addition, any of the remaining subjects.

5. *For one who expects to pursue a course in Theology;* marked proficiency in Greek and Hebrew; in addition, Philosophy and two scientific subjects.

6. *For one who proposes to study Law;* the same as No. 1 above, with the substitutions of Philosophy and History for Greek, and two scientific subjects (instead of one).

7. *For one who wishes a Literary Training not rigidly Classical;* marked proficiency in Modern Languages and Philosophy; in addition, Latin and any other two subjects.

In order to be allowed to follow one of these groups of studies, as a candidate for the degree of B. A., the student must first "matriculate," and for matriculation it is requisite that he pass an examination in Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, and Analytical Geometry; in Cæsar, Ovid, Virgil, and Cicero; and in Xenophon, Herodotus, and Homer, unless he prefers to offer German and French in place of Greek. In order that the constituents of his course may be appreciated, all the preliminary requirements should be borne in mind, and I therefore recapitulate them. The Bachelor of Arts of the Johns Hopkins University, according to the present system, has satisfied the examiners on these points,—that he has a "good English education;" that he has pursued the study of Mathematics so as to include Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, and Analytical Geometry; that he can read Cæsar, Ovid, Virgil, and Cicero; that he can read ordinary French and German at sight; that he has given attention, for at least a year, to some branch of science which involves the laboratory methods; that he has had an introduction to Logic, Psychology, and Ethics; and that he has paid more or less attention to Vocal Culture, Physical Culture, and Drawing. So much as this is demanded of every Bachelor of Arts, and in addition the study of two important and comprehensive subjects, to the extent of five exercises a week, during two academic years. Thus, in the first group Latin and Greek are taken as the dominant themes, and, in addition to the texts which are read in the class-room, a large amount must be privately read, and there are additional lessons in Comparative Philology and other allied subjects;—in the second group Physics is studied through two years, and Mathematics likewise, so as to include the differential and integral calculus, conic sections, theory of equations, solid analytical geometry, etc.;—in

the third group Chemistry and Biology require attention for two years each ; — and in the fourth, Chemistry and Physics ; — in the fifth group Latin and Mathematics are the predominant themes ; — in the sixth History and Political Science ; — and in the seventh Modern Languages. The preferences of ninety students now on our undergraduate roll are as follows : —

Group 1. Greek and Latin . . . . .	17
Group 2. Mathematics and Physics . . . . .	11
Group 3. Chemistry and Biology . . . . .	18
Group 4. Physics and Chemistry . . . . .	11
Group 5. Latin and Mathematics . . . . .	4
Group 6. History and Political Science . . . . .	27
Group 7. Modern Languages . . . . .	2

So far as our experience goes, it appears that the groups here offered meet all the requirements of our constituency. It is very unusual for a request to be made for exceptional arrangements. On the other hand, some students elect more than is prescribed for them, and we are now considering the value of a system of honors which shall encourage special exertions and lead to superior attainments. Without this grouping we should not be able to prevent that incessant conflict of hours which sometimes precludes a student from taking the particular combinations which he prefers. Here a time-table, or schedule of hours, is prepared for every group, and any interference with it is jealously watched. Each one of the seven groups may therefore be pursued by a matriculated student with as much regularity as if it were the only course which the university offered.

A careful perusal of what has been said will show the reader that in all these courses there is a tendency to concentrate attention on important subjects, and to require prolonged labor upon them, and yet that there is no infringement upon the province of a professional training. For example, the biological work which extends through two years, and is based upon the study of Physics and Chemistry, is an excellent preliminary training for those who expect to become students of medicine ; but it does not deal with the diagnosis or the treatment of disease. Many who expect to become lawyers elect the political-historical group, but they are not taught jurisprudence nor the subjects which fit a candidate for a call to the bar. Their attention as undergraduates is directed to history, political economy, and the development of institutions and constitutions. So Logic, Ethics, and Psychology are taught to undergraduates by text-books and familiar expository lectures, and the more difficult treatment of speculative questions is

postponed to a later period. Undergraduates are discouraged from entering upon the lecture courses which are offered to the graduates, unless they are thoroughly prepared for such advanced work, and have the requisite time at command. On the other hand, graduate students are constantly found in beginners' classes, and they do not feel that their standing is in the least degree lowered in consequence. The young man who has been distinguished in a classical college may never have spent an hour in a laboratory, and must begin his study of Chemistry at the very beginning; so a student who has won his honors in an ordinary curriculum may never have studied French and German; and the like is true in other cases.

I am far from thinking that the group system here devised is perfect,—even for our requirements. It is constantly studied and frequent efforts are made to improve it. But so far as I know, the instructors in this university are unanimous in thinking that it is the only method practicable for us to adopt. We should doubtless differ very much from one another in our estimate of the different courses, and we should be likely to counsel young men differently as to their selections; but I believe we are conscientious in the endeavor to make each course thorough, comprehensive, and difficult, so that every one who is admitted to a baccalaureate degree may be a man of liberal education.

The custom which is here followed of directing every undergraduate to one of the staff as his counselor and adviser has not only given efficiency to the group system of studies, but has tended to the maintenance of most friendly intercourse between the teachers and their pupils. The adviser's relation to the student is like that of a lawyer to his client or of a physician to one who seeks his counsel. The office is not that of an inspector, nor of a proctor, nor of a recipient of excuses, nor of a distant and unapproachable embodiment of the authority of the Faculty. It is the adviser's business to listen to difficulties which the student assigned to him may bring to his notice; to act as his representative if any collective action is necessary on the part of the board of instruction; to see that every part of his course of studies has received the proper attention. The advisers are purposely chosen as representatives of all the groups; they hold frequent meetings and advise with one another as to their methods of instruction and as to the improvements which are possible in the study plans. They scrutinize with care the reports of proficiency which are laid before them by the different instructors; and determine the honors and promotions of the undergraduates. They

have never had occasion to consider the discipline of a student for misconduct or discourtesy; for the entire university is organized as a society, — *societas magistrorum et discipulorum*, — and the collegiate students become as conscious of this as the graduates. The collegiate residence, the common table, the enforced attendance upon chapel, and the sharp distinction between study hours and play-time are wanting; but the best characteristic of college life is perpetuated and revived, — the friendly guidance of young scholars by those who are more mature and who love the work of teaching. For my own part, I believe that the merit of a college consists in what it does for the character of students. If they are taught fidelity and accuracy; if they learn to appreciate the value of authority as well as the privileges of freedom; if their wills are trained to overcome difficulty; if their social, intellectual, and religious natures are developed; if the love of knowledge is quickened, — then the college is a success. Manliness will be its product. Example is more powerful than legislation in the training of young men. They follow those whom they admire. Hence it seems to me that the college will be efficient in direct proportion to the character of its academic staff. Any system will break down if it is poorly administered. Not what the college is called, but what it is, should be the criterion by which it is estimated.

I have purposely limited this exposition of the Johns Hopkins University to its collegiate aspects, — for that, if I understood their attitude, was the point of interest to the conductors of this "Review" at the present time; but I ought not to close this paper without the most explicit statement that, while the university rests upon, or includes a college, the college leads up to the university. In the freer methods of advanced instruction and study, in the promotion of researches and scholastic inquiries, in the accumulation of books and journals, of instruments and collections, in the publication of memoirs, and in mutual encouragement and co-operation, the professors of the university are heartily encouraged by the trustees.

The university students, who are here in large numbers, exert a very strong influence upon undergraduate life. Their intellectual, moral, and social character is of the greatest value. The books they read, the topics they discuss, the investigations they make, and the pursuits upon which they enter are known to younger men and are constantly inspiring them.

*D. C. Gilman.*

## THE HARVARD "NEW EDUCATION."

THE article by Professor Palmer, in the "Andover Review" for November, puts the case for college electives with the most seductive force. It must be generally acknowledged that the Harvard plan has been set forth in all its strongest aspects by the representative Harvard man. The power and elegance of the presentation cannot fail to command universal attention. This is fortunate. For the subject demands the most serious thought of the country; and, even at the cost of a first impression too favorable to the present elective plans, it is good that the interest is aroused without which the entire bearings of the elective movement would never be taken. To bring to attention certain of those bearings that seem almost universally to be overlooked is the object of the present paper. The best path to this object appears to be through a review of Professor Palmer's article in detail.

To quote his own words: "All that I have sought to establish is this: there is a method which we and many other colleges in different degrees have adopted, which is demonstrably a sound method. Its soundness should by this time be generally acknowledged, and criticism should now turn to the important work of bettering its details of operation. May what I have written encourage such criticism and help to make it wise, penetrative, and friendly."

I take the brilliant and candid writer at his word. Such criticism as I can offer can only be as penetrative and wise as I am able to make it, but it shall certainly not be unfriendly. An elective system, in its proper place, and under its due conditions, is demonstrably sound. The aim of criticism upon it *should* be the important one of bettering, *much* bettering, the details of its operation. But of those details, the time and conditions due and proper in the entire scheme of our national establishment for education are of supreme importance. And I think the first utterance of a sound criticism upon election, as we are now practicing it under the lead of Harvard, is this: that, in respect of time and conditions in a proper national establishment for culture, we are going wholly wrong. Persistence in our present path can only carry us farther and farther from the sufficing objects of higher education. The "New Education" proceeds upon a radical misconception as to what liberal education is. The false timing

and conditioning of election which this induces and maintains tend to destroy the substance of real culture among our young men, to render our educational standing among cultivated nations low, and to impoverish the very sources of civil order and national life among us. To bring these tendencies more completely into view I will comment upon the successive points in Professor Palmer's argument in their order.

1. "The new system is not a mere cutting of straps; it is a system. Its student is still under bonds, bonds more compulsive than the old, because fitted with nicer adjustment to each one's person. . . . What the amount of a young man's study shall be, and what its grade of excellence, a body of experts decides. The student himself determines its specific topic."

So far as the "New Education" is a *system*, then, it is such by virtue of its agreement with the old; so far as it is *new*, so far as it introduces election, it is a cutting of straps. It removes from the old system of prescription nothing but the checks which that imposed on the student's choice of topics. The authority of the body of experts who decide upon the quantity and quality of the student's work it may perhaps render more nearly operative upon every student, but that is all. If it is anything more than a *mere* cutting of straps, it must be so by securing or presuming in the student an order of reaction upon the freedom to choose that puts system into his choices. In short, its systematic character, if it have any, rests upon an assumed maturity of character and judgment in the student. But is it possible that such judgment and character, such presumed ripeness and fullness, can exist apart from the possession of a certain complement of knowledge? The first point of defect in the Harvard scheme is this: that, upon its own profession, it does nothing to secure from the student the mastery of any specific topic whatever. If a certain sum of topics is essential to his real culture as a man and a citizen, election, as such simply, does nothing to secure his possession of this. We are all familiar, to be sure, with the recent stock-argument of the extreme electionists: that there is no sum of topics essential to culture. We need not be taken off our feet by it. But of this, more anon.

2. "It is an error to suppose that election is the hasty 'craze' of a single college. . . . It is true, all the colleges except Harvard retain a modicum of prescribed study even in the senior year; but election in some degree is admitted everywhere, and the tendency is steadily in the direction of a wider choice."



No competent critic considers the elective system as the "craze" of a single college. None such denies the value — indeed, the indispensable need — of election, if properly administered. But the vital question is, What is the time and what are the conditions for it in an entire system of education administered with a wise reference to the whole problem of national culture? To say nothing of the present acknowledged tendency to press election down into the very preparatory schools, is the possession of the knowledge and discipline obtainable in the latter a sufficient warrant for opening every college topic to the student's free acceptance or rejection? Will this secure to the student a deep and comprehensive culture in the real elements of humanism, or to the nation a proper standing among cultivated communities? The mere fact that election has been accepted by our colleges, after some years of more or less careful testing, is no final proof that it can meet the requirements which these questions suggest. It is quite possible rather that this acceptance has been owing in great part to the general modern infatuation for private preference, — I do not say for wise individual choice. Election, under reasonable conditions, is not open to the suspicion of "craze;" but election, adopted as an unconditional good, in itself, may well be subject to that suspicion. The yielding of the colleges to the popular demand for election, without sufficiently considering what its bearings on the culture and standing of the nation at large are to be, may justly be called a piece of the current "craze" for individualism. The second point against the present elective method is, that this "system" of letting individualism loose is confessedly, even boastfully, on the increase, without any provision against the risk this involves to culture and nationality.

3. "Harvard has reached her present great prosperity by becoming the pioneer in a general educational movement. What made the movement general was the dread of flimsy study."

Dread of flimsy study has undoubtedly promoted the adoption of the elective system, and has greatly aided in making it valuable. But nothing short of the "craze" just mentioned can wholly account for the present inconsiderate pursuit of it, or for the sort of passionate insensibility, bred of this, to the philistinizing and denationalizing consequences of unlimited choice in topics. The causes of the present prosperity of Harvard are many. Election has certainly played an important part among them. The patrons have approved; partly, no doubt, because the system has worked certain benefits; and partly, also, beyond question, because it has

so perfectly accorded with the temper of the times. But the great qualities of the college have had far more to do with its success than this accident of election. With such a prestige founded on such a past, with such a body of alumni, with such a teaching staff, under such an administration, Harvard was secure in prosperity and growth, whether she practiced election or prescription. It is but a negative argument for election to cite her prosperity under the system. Under all the existing conditions — of her prestige, her greatness, her fortunate harmony with the *Zeitgeist* — the fact only shows that the defects of the system have not yet palpably interfered with the honor of the college.

4. "Election is necessitated by the rise of physical science and the enlargement of humanistic interests. . . . But the length of college days is limited. . . . To multiply subjects was soon found equivalent to cheapening knowledge. . . . There is no way . . . except by dividing the field and pressing along paths where personal friction is least."

But why should we say there is *no* other way? Has England — above all, has Germany — found no other way for her fortunate and leisure classes to whom the paths of the higher education are open? Have we not now become the richest of nations? — the nation with the widest distribution of wealth, too, and of the most abounding distribution of comfort? Why should we not now take more time, and use more diligence, in education? What hindered us, when the crisis for transforming our educational system arose, from taking advantage of occasion and setting in operation the educational forces that would secure the devotion of a longer time to a more judiciously prescribed curriculum? What, but the not being alive to the real issue? That was, and still is, to raise our educational establishment to an equality with those of the great rival nations; to bring the genuine university, the proper field for the election indispensable to the highest culture, into actual existence among us; and to place our secondary schools — the field of the culture indispensable to judicious manhood and social leadership, the field of the discipline preparatory to the university — on a footing with the Etons and Harrows and Rugbys of England, and with the Gymnasias of Germany. A proper apprehension of the discreditable place to which unreserved election must eventually reduce us among educated nations would surely have given us pause. The prevention of the real university, and the continual contraction of the secondary basis of common humanism, which the spread of election, descending, as

the present tendencies are steadily carrying it, into the very preparatory schools, must eventually insure, ought to have stayed us at the time when college electives began; and ought now, still more, to stop us from saying there is no other way. There is the other way of judicious prescription, of longer time, and of more diligent submission to essential conditions.

5. "The old conception had been that there were certain matters, a knowledge of which constituted a liberal education. Compared with the possession of these, the temper of the receiving mind was a secondary affair. . . . Under the new conditions, college Faculties were forced to recognize personal aptitudes. . . . In assessing the worth of studies, attention was thus withdrawn from their subject-matter and transferred to the response they called forth in the apprehender. Hence arose a new ideal of education, in which temper of mind had preëminence over *quæsitæ*, the guidance of the powers of knowing over the store of matters known."

But both conceptions are one-sided. The old view was irrefutable so far as it asserted "essential subject-matters;" it was wrong in disregarding temper of study. The new view is right in its assertion of the import and need of a consenting and eager temper; it is wholly wrong in its denial of the equal import and necessity of a specific sum of topics. Study cannot be liberalizing unless it is pursued in a temper of freely dutiful diligence; but no more can it be so if it does not put its subject in possession of the constitutive fibres in the historic substance of civilization. That substance cannot abide and continue to grow if each new generation attempts to begin the humanizing process *de novo*. Our life in humanism is linked by vital threads to the growth of the past as well as to the environment of the present, — threads that cannot be severed except on penalty of spiritual death. The new generation can only fulfill its duty to its own ideal, and to the ideal of mankind, by coming into active possession of its heritage of transmitted and envioning reason. And hence it is that languages, classical and modern; mathematics, in all its general conceptions, thoroughly apprehended; physics, acquired in a similar manner, and the other natural sciences, though with much less of detail; history and politics; literature, especially of the mother tongue, but, indispensably, the masterpieces in other languages, particularly the classic; philosophy, in the thorough elements of psychology, logic, metaphysics, and ethics, each historically treated, and economics, in the history of elementary principles, must all

enter into any education that can claim to be liberal. Lacking any of these constituents, the student is seriously disqualified either to appropriate the intimate spirit of the past or to enter into thorough *rapport* with the life of the present. But to fail of either qualification is to come short of the liberal mind.

6. "To justify the dominance of the new system a single compendious reason is sufficient: it uplifts character as no other training can, and through influence on character it ennobles all methods of teaching and discipline. . . . The moral factor is thus put forward, where it belongs. The will is honored as of prime consequence. Other systems treat it as a merely concurrent and auxiliar force."

Election *properly adjusted*, properly founded on sufficient culture in the topics essential to the liberal mind, has power to uplift character; genuine character, full of strength, insight, and refinement. But mere election itself — the bare fact of election *per se* — has no such power. It can only beget a certain persistence and self-reliance, a certain self-confidence. And this is not a real virtue. It is a quality subsidiary, greatly subsidiary, to virtue; but it is not virtue, it is not character. Indeed, apart from sound and refined conceptions, it is antagonistic to genuine manhood, and is only the bulwark of philistinism. And this fruitful judgment, this truly progressive power to decide in accord with the historically grounded human ideal, can only be nourished upon the *historic pabulum*, the essential subject-matter of the liberal spirit. Election, unless it be so adjusted as to insure this cultivated judgment, will only give play to a mere *formal* freedom. In fact, it is the faculty of judgment, rather than mere will, that election calls into exercise; and ill-adjusted election really sets immature judgment free, instead of enlightened will.

7. "Many people seem to suppose that at some epoch in the life of a young man the capacity to choose starts up of itself, ready-made. It is not so. . . . To learn how to choose, we must choose. Keep a boy from exercising his will during the formative period from eighteen to twenty-two, and you turn him into the world a child when by years he should be a man."

But reasonable prescription does not assume that power to choose starts suddenly into existence. Not a whit more than supporting the stem of the young shoot assumes that the power of self-support springs up suddenly in the tree, without antecedent growth. The support and guidance are necessary to develop the power. So the power of real will, of judicious choice, is presumed

by reasonable prescription to rise gradually out of discipline in the historic elements of the liberal mind. Power to choose in some fashion is always present; the problem is, how to make actual choice judicious. Its solution is impossible except by sufficient guidance from elder experience. The ascertainment and election of a course of study that will surely contain the substance of civilization does not lie within the powers of unguided personal preference. Would Professor Palmer have the elective system operate from the very beginning of the primary school? Yet why not, if to learn how to choose we *must* choose? And if choosing may wait, then the reasonable question is, When does its practice become safe? If Professor Palmer does not mean to have the infant school elect, as surely he does not, then he admits the principle that a certain amount of guidance is essential to right choice. How much? There can be but one reasonable criterion: there must be guidance enough to secure the "essential subject-matters" without which sound judgment is impossible. Does Professor Palmer perhaps hold that these are furnished in the work done at the preparatory schools and exacted as a condition for entrance to college? It may confidently be maintained that there should be a great deal more than this; as much as is covered by the first three years of our better colleges, or by the completed course of the German Gymnasia.

No doubt, in a well-organized community, the period from eighteen to twenty-two ought to be a period of individual election. There is no reason, in the nature of things, why the youth should not at that age have mastered the culture necessary to his safe practice of choice. American youths ought surely to enter upon the real university career as early as the German youth does. Yet the German youth goes from the Gymnasium to the university at an average age rather less than that at which our young men enter Harvard. That our youth acquire by their twenty-second year no more than German boys have mastered by their nineteenth is a fact that reflects severely on the general conditions of life among us. It demands that we set about the critical understanding of those conditions, and the speedy effort to change them for the better.

8. "Even when successful, the directive process breeds an excellence not to be desired. Plants and stones commit no errors. They are under a prescribed system, and follow given laws. Personal man is in continual danger, for to self-direction is attached the prerogative of sin. For building up a moral manhood, the very errors of choice are serviceable."

Yes; but they are serviceable only on condition of being seen and felt as such. And they can be so seen and felt only on condition that the mind is in possession of the *topics* essential to a judgment in harmony with the normal and historic culture of the race. This alone points adequately to the wholesome law of progressive culture. With this law all legitimate choices of the individual must accord. What is true is not that the directive process breeds an excellence *not* to be desired, but that direction, merely *quâ* direction, breeds an excellence not the *most* to be desired. The excellence most to be desired is, *plus* the excellence bred of wise direction, the vigorous voluntary pursuit of work that shall surely accord with the normal ideal of man, and surely promote its realization. The free volition must be there, but it must be won beforehand to the permanent humanistic interests. Blind following of these interests falls undoubtedly short, fatally short, of the real calling of a man; but, even for each man, it is less unserviceable than the capricious exercise of his "freedom;" while, for the race in general or for the nation in which he is a citizen, it is of positive preservative service. And the full prerogative of choice can only belong to him who wins it through the necessary propædæutic of direction.

9. "I am not describing theoretic advantages. A manlier type of character actually appears as the elective principle extends. . . . Better scholarship also; as witness the ascending rank of the 'central scholar' on the Harvard annual rank-list."

This is doubtless in considerable part true. But the improvement is traceable largely to other causes. There is, first, the increased age of Harvard men. Then again, and of more significance, there is the process of "natural selection" and "survival of the fittest." This, in these years of Harvard's prosperity, power, and fashion, weeds out the undesirable members of her community, calls to her the more desirable men, enables her to reject those unfit, and to preserve those best adapted to meet the demands of her system. She culls from all the land the choicest sons of the choicest families. Her record ought to be excellent in proportion, and doubtless is so. Then, too, there is the improvement in her teaching staff, which has been so greatly promoted by the vigorous, searching, and sagacious administration of her present head. Such teaching must have worked better scholarship under any system, elective or prescribed.

There seems, however, to be an unwarranted import given to the figures in Professor Palmer's table of ranks. The hypotheti-



cal "central scholar" by no means indicates the standing of half the class. He stands in no necessary relation to *any* proportion of the class. He is a mere abstraction, conjecturally attached in each class to the mean between the highest and the lowest mark for each year. He is, therefore, far from being a "presumably average person." The real "average person" is one of the large majority, whose rank lies variably between certain well-defined but moderate limits, — not very low, and certainly never high. It would be pertinent to have a table indicating these limits at Harvard, showing whether they have risen under election, and whether the distance from the lower to the upper limit has gradually diminished, as it ought to do under the "average man's" improvement. The table, to be significant in this reference, should show, too, a gradually increasing proportion of each class who reach a decidedly respectable rank, — say 70 or 75 per cent. of perfect work. Until these results are shown, the case for generally improved scholarship under election must be considered as statistically "not proven."

Still, it is no doubt a fair presumption that more persons will do respectable work under an elective system than under a prescriptive, especially when the latter is not only loosely administered but unreasonably made up, as was usually the case in our colleges before election came in. We may assume, for argument's sake, that the proportion of respectable scholars has increased since election was permitted. But I would point out the assumption in Professor Palmer's reasoning here: that mere quality and quantity of work, irrespective of its topic, is not merely a vital but the sufficient condition to be secured. This regards only the *disciplinary* effect of the vigor with which the work is done, and ignores the *culture* effect depending upon its topics. But the latter is, after all, the point of vital bearing on the problem of humanistic and national development. We are asked to think only of *how* the student does what he does, and to disregard *what* he does. Yet this last is really of greater import than the former. For it is on this, conjoined with proper vigor and sentiment in doing it, that all fullness, depth, and richness of humane development in him depends.

10. "Election does not tend to 'soft' courses, but the selections are in large proportion judicious. Witness the list of fifteen courses which, in 1883-84, contained the largest numbers of Seniors and Juniors: Mill's political economy, 125; European history from the middle of the eighteenth century, 102; history of

ancient art, 80; comparative zoölogy, 58; political and constitutional history of the United States, 56; psychology, 52; geology, 47; constitutional government of England and the United States, 45; advanced geology, with field work, 43; Homer, sixteen books, 40; ethics, 38; logic and introduction to philosophy, 38; Shakespeare, six plays, 37; economic history, advanced course, 36; legal history of England to the sixteenth century, 35. In these years the Senior and Junior classes together contained 404 men."

But the real question is not whether students elect courses that are valuable, but whether the aggregate of selections, in the case of each student, makes a sum of topics that can be considered sufficient to secure a really liberal culture. Professor Palmer does not give us a table bearing on this question; doubtless because, as a deep-dyed man of New Harvard, he does not believe that there is any such sum of essential topics. But I believe that the thoughtful and competent judges outside of the Harvard circle will stand by the plainly reasonable conviction that there is a sum of knowledge, touched with sentiment and invigorated by masterly grasp, the lack of which demonstrates the lack of a truly cultivated mind. Such judges will never consent to the doctrine, promulgated from certain high quarters, that there is nothing that every man of liberal education absolutely *must* know, except skillfully to speak and write his mother tongue. Now, as bearing on the question whether the elective system will secure in a reasonable proportion of its students the possession of such a sum of essentials, the figures at Harvard are certainly ominous. Think of from only 9 to 14 per cent. electing the subjects of greatest importance. The year 1883-84 is the year of maximum average scholarship in Professor Palmer's table of ranks. Yet in this year only a scant 9 per cent. of the men elect subjects of such vital importance to culture as the plays of Shakespeare and the legal history of England; a scant 10 per cent. the still more important topics of ethics, logic, introduction to philosophy, and Homer; a bare 11 per cent. the constitutional government of England and the United States; only 12 per cent. psychology; only 14 per cent. the political and constitutional history of their own country. At the very maximum, only 20 per cent. elect the history of ancient art; only 25 per cent. the recent history of Europe; while political economy, a topic bearing no corresponding relation to the essentials of culture, wins the largest proportion, 31 per cent. Will anybody claim that so small a proportion of the student community would do respectable work upon the entire curriculum of

a course judiciously prescribed, and taught by men of equal ability? The thing is not credible.

To sum up: Election, set going at the beginning or in the early stages of the college course, will not secure to many students the possession of the topics essential to culture. The facts, under the most favorable conditions, prove this. Its sure tendency must be to produce one-sided and limited minds. There ought to be judicious prescription, — of pretty much everything that, under our wiser experience in this transitional period of election, is now offered in the first three years of our better colleges. But our educational system should not stop with this. We should complete the beginnings already made in our three or four leading colleges, and, by means as rapid as are consistent with security, bring into general existence the real university. The work in this would be entirely elective, but entrance to it should only be granted to those who have thoroughly completed the college course. In no other way can we put ourselves on an educational level with the best organized communities of Europe. And in this way both essentials — the manliness of freedom and the large-mindedness of comprehensive knowledge — would be secured; at the times, too, and under the conditions, compatible with the humanistic interests of the nation. It is a great oversight to estimate the worth of a system of educational administration in the light of the interest and diligence of students and instructors alone. The scope of these things is, after all, only private and personal. The national and international bearing of every method must be made paramount. Our old system of prescription was not entirely intelligent. In some details it was even stupid. But this was the accident of circumstances, and has nothing to do with the principle in its best possibilities. Under such possibilities, prescription has a real and indispensable function. It is confessedly insufficient for the entire scheme of a nation's culture; but in our country we have not yet reached, except in a limited portion, the field in which election can play its proper part. We ought no longer to content ourselves with applying the methods proper only to the highest stage of education upon minds still in the secondary stage of acquirement. The Harvard plan, which we are now liable to follow to the last extreme, cannot promote the coming of the real university among us. On the contrary, it will postpone that coming; or even render it impossible, by making our population content with the present low range of election. The true range of election should be in an altogether higher region.

But how shall we find a way out of the tangle into which we have strayed? It is practically too late to recall election now. Our only hope lies in regulating it with right reference to the proper aims of the nation. First, then, let us set ourselves to stop it where it is. And, next, let us during the next three decades, upon conference with the preparatory schools and with sufficient prior announcement, — by stages, say, five years each in advance, — steadily raise the standard for entrance to the present college or so-called university. In this way, all that was once college curriculum, properly modified to meet our present better conception of culture, will have been transferred to the present preparatory schools. These may then be called colleges. Those who have completed the curriculum thus provided will then go up to a university deserving to wear the name. They will enter upon genuine university work, professional or special. In this, election will reign supreme, except as it may indirectly be guided by the nation from without, through protective examinations for entrance to the leading professions. At the end of a generation, when we may hope that our civil service will have been sufficiently emancipated from corrupt influences to sustain its proper responsibility of setting the standard for our whole education, we may thus have, firmly established among us, the system of culture developed by the wisdom of ages and now recognized among the maturest nations.

"And what," it may be asked, "will become, in such a system, of the loose livers, the drones, the indifferent, the perfunctory, the dullards, the dunces, of whom we are getting so excellently rid, by natural selection, under the elective system? And is there to be no room left for choice according to aptitude and the pressure of circumstance — of situation in life?" I answer, with Professor Palmer: "Every mode of training has its exclusions." The prescribed preparatory school — the college of the future — shall be administered with rigor. It must be made independent of private patronage, and those unfit for it, whether by endowments or by will, shall understand that it is no place for them. The alternative of worthlessness shall be to go to its own place in life; the alternative of unadapted gifts, to seek other institutions framed with a different curriculum for very different ends. In the school for the university, the training-ground for those who aspire to direction and leadership in the community, there shall be the inflexible will of the nation sifting out those that lack the requisite qualifications. This is the only democratic principle: The privi-

leges of influence and power shall belong only to those who prove their capacity. The judgment of the nation is alone competent to decide what the knowledge and discipline requisite to directive capacity are.

*G. H. Howison.*

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY.

---

### INDIVIDUALISM IN EDUCATION.

THE problem of the New Education must, of course, continue to be one of the absorbing topics till a solution is reached.

Professor's Palmer's enthusiastic article, with its brilliant array of facts, has added not a little to the impetus of the discussion. Yet the results at Harvard, greatly as they appear at first sight to favor the new departure, are not without their suggestions of peril; they show that to cut loose from the old system is also to cut loose from a fundamental principle of education involved in it. No doubt the old system had awkward and mechanical features; evidently it had far too little adaptation to individual peculiarities; it was not devised from the standpoint of individualism, nor could it have been said, strictly speaking, to have been devised from the standpoint of learning. It was devised and organized from the standpoint of a great corporate necessity, compared with which the requirements of individual scholarship, or even the claims of science, seemed a small affair. The needs of the church and of the state, — it was to meet these that our fathers laid the foundation of our schools and colleges in sacrifices worthy of the cause. The state must have men fitted to understand her free institutions. Christianity, the religion of the country, the rock bed of our social life, must have men of sufficient breadth and information to propagate its principles. It was, then, not to meet an individual, but a corporate necessity, that our educational system was constructed. "For Christ and the Commonwealth" was written upon its portals, and the first plank in its construction was this, that no man liveth, dieth, or is educated to himself; he is not a separate entity to be built up and ornamented; he is a part of a larger and a worthier whole; his education, his attainments, his total value, are to be gauged by his service to the body of which he is a member. There can surely be no doubt as to the nobility or the practical soundness of this view. However great

may be the value of education, it is certainly subordinate to the commonwealth, and to that great brotherhood of God on which Christendom rests for its foundation. Education is not primarily a thing with which to deck or furnish an individual soul; it has a prior and a more vital use. The best method of culture may be an interesting experiment for a university, but for the state as well as for the church it is a matter of life and death. A young man may be quite indifferent as to what he learns. It is not a matter of indifference to the social edifice in which he is a living stone. Professor Palmer says that it was an idea of the old system that certain forms of knowledge must be in every man's head; that is true, and so they must, unless as Christians we are willing to give up pure Christianity, unless as citizens we are ready to give up our body politic. Nothing can be more suicidal than for a free country to send out annually from its colleges hundreds of young men who will take a leading position in the name of education without any accurate knowledge of their own institutions. Nothing could be blinder than for the church to neglect putting its young men on a broadly intelligent footing as regards Christianity. The facts concerning his country, the facts concerning the great formative moral forces of his country, ought certainly to be in every educated man's head. If they are not in his head, alas for that head, and for those who follow it, supposing it to be an educated head; it is like a locomotive driver without the facts concerning steam. Religious and political knowledge are both absolute necessities. We cannot afford to trifle with them. We are near enough to the brink of ignorance already. Every educated mind graduated by our institutions ought to tell for the safety of the Commonwealth and for reverence toward religious truth. The interests of a state of society founded on Christian ideas demand not only an educated ministry, but the dissemination of something broader than Sunday-school information throughout the community. It needs no *index expurgatorius* to bring upon us the curse of moral asphyxia that has followed Jesuitism. A purely secular education can bury Scriptural thought out of the sight of our leading minds more effectively than a papal decree could do it; there would be no rebellion against such an edict. It is difficult to conceive of a guardianship for education more fickle or more dangerous than the unguided preference of young men. It is easy to fill the land with a cultivated class, who shall be as ignorant of the Scripture and of the vast Christian philosophy that has grown up around it as were the Papal States in the day of the temporal power.



Now if there is one thing that appears evident, it is that a matter on which such vast interests depend ought not to be left to the choice of a young man whose inexperience incapacitates him from appreciating the real worth or bearings of education, and who is dazzled by the glare of mere accomplishments. But this is not all; education is not only a corporate affair, but, as a matter of fact, it does most for the individual when ministered from that standpoint. It is true that study feeds and disciplines the powers, but it takes a great motive to rouse and vitalize them. The grander the motive for which a man studies the more receptive and retentive become his faculties; his manhood rises to its full height.

No school or college can exhibit more remarkable results in the line both of order and of educational progress than the normal school for colored students at Hampton, Va. Nowhere is there a greater degree of voluntariness, yet elective study has no part in it. The plan is to put a certain kind of knowledge into every man's head; the fundamental idea of the school is, that a man is there not for himself, but for his race, and the power of that thought is prodigious. The African mind, in its present stage of progress, is not distinguished by its preference for solid learning, but at Hampton young men and young women put to shame their white competitors by their earnest and successful application to such studies as mental philosophy, the Constitution of the United States, and American politics. Scarce one of them but goes out carrying with him for the benefit of his people a practical view of our governmental institutions and a tolerably clear idea of his own mental, physical, and moral organization. The establishment has a momentum derived from its standpoint. Neither the unattractiveness of certain studies nor the strictness of the discipline detracts from the zeal of the students; it is a part of a great movement, and they have caught the movement. Education means to them a large idea. It appears in their talk and in their essays; they are being fitted to uplift a race. Something of the same momentum, derived from a noble standpoint, has been apparent in one at least of our New England colleges, to give to every man a knowledge of himself, genus, species, individual; to furnish him with a clear idea of his body and its scientific relations; to bring him in contact, through the great classic languages, with the entirety of human thought as it appears in its mightiest vehicles, its most potent and formative periods; to give him an intelligent view of his own national institutions, of the

Christian religion and its evidences ; and, to crown all, a clear conception of his intellectual and moral organization, and so, for God's sake and the republic's, send him out with something in his head to keep it level, something that will not crumble like plaster of Paris when the strain of a superficial or besotted public opinion bears down upon it. Such has been the definite aim in one, perhaps more, of our colleges under the old system. Now, if our colleges are to abandon this principle of education, other colleges must be built, that is all. Christians must fit their sons not all of them to be ministers, but all of them to know the facts and comprehend the principles relating to Christianity, and also to understand the laws of their own moral nature, by which, as by a touchstone, Christianity and all other things are reverently to be tried. No young man ought to be sent out into the world without having some sound mental and moral philosophy put into his head. No Christian parent ought to let his son go into the world without it. He has no right to send out an educated will-o'-the-wisp that is certain to draw men into a swamp.

The Church and the republic must have minds with certain fact forms germinant in them. For that reason the old method of education must and will continue, but it will improve, and it ought to ; it has made blunders enough ; they are not to be rectified, however, by discarding any of the great studies that develop a man's understanding of himself and of his relations. Such an understanding is, and always will be, the best part of an education. Still less are these blunders to be rectified by going over to the extreme of individualism, teaching the young man to regard his education from the standpoint of his own preference. Individualism is a narrow and a feeble motive. It gives a temporary eagerness, but it cannot powerfully arouse or steadily discipline the mind ; and it fails to give the largest receptivity. It is claimed that it exercises choice, — “that to learn how to choose we must choose.” But there is a factor in manhood whose development is more vital to our character than choice ; it is the factor of faith, without which choice is a lame affair. It is not, in fact, the mere power of choice that we wish to elicit. It needs no education to develop individual preference ; there is enough of it already, particularly in young people. What we wish to secure by education is the power of moral choice, choosing in view of the most rational and unselfish motive. Choice is valueless, and worse than valueless, — it is prejudicial to manhood, except as it is disciplined into loyalty and trust. As to the quickened interest in study, improved

conduct, freedom from hazing, and other benefits mentioned by Professor Palmer, three things must be borne in mind: 1. There has been a great change in all colleges as regards ruffianism; dissipation has taken on a shape somewhat less stupid than burning benches, blacking the college Bible, and scaring the Freshmen. Boorishness is not dead, but it is dying; a more cultivated and rational badness takes its place. 2. There is a vastly quickened interest in exact knowledge of every kind; we are living in an age of science. Everybody feels the breath of this great renaissance. 3. The new system is one in which the advantages must inevitably appear at once. This is true of all attempts to elevate the standard of attainment, by coming down to the standpoint of untrained preference. This is what gives popularity to the sugar-plum system; the advantages appear at once; the child is interested in the sugar-plum, he is no longer restive, he is steady, attentive, absorbed. It is later on that the disadvantages of the system begin to appear, and it is a grave question whether this may not prove to be the case at Harvard. The disadvantages will appear later on; for a time, undoubtedly, youthful human nature will make a better record by studying what it happens to like, — the most fashionable branch of learning, the most popular accomplishment, — but such a method will encounter greater and greater difficulty in lifting men toward solid attainments; it increases that indulgence of unreasoning preference which is the greatest obstacle to rational or moral progress; it will tend more and more toward educational bric-a-brac. It may present, for a time, a fine array of statistics. It may send out an accomplished set of amateurs, but it has yet to reckon with the great necessities of manhood, as well as with the exigencies of both church and state.

No doubt it is easier, at the first, for the mind to follow its inclination, but it is a poor way of fitting it for practical life. Nature is a sterner educator; she seldom leaves us to pursue that easy grade, but compels us to master most unrelishable tasks. A set of minds educated on the plan of individual inclination must go out into the world like hot-house plants thrust from the conservatory on a December morning. Doubtless the youthful human head recoils at the process of being filled with abstract truth, but the remedy does not lie in yielding to that head; this cannot give ultimate relief; the true remedy lies along the line indicated by the great Master and Teacher of these eighteen Christian centuries, who changed not one jot of the great principles to be mastered, but made himself the ladder by which man might climb from task

to task. The change that promises relief is coming, but it lies in the teacher, not in the subject taught; the art of teaching is as yet new-born. There is nothing in mathematics or in Greek but is intrinsically adapted to interest a human mind; if they do not interest it is for want of adaptation. No studies are better adapted than the classic to develop active judgment or clearness of thought; dead they may be, so far as conversation goes, but as stupendous revelations of the mind of the race they still live; no man can understand the race, in its unity, without studying them. If they are destitute of imaginative suggestion the relief lies in the teacher, not in the change of study.

For many years, in one of our colleges, mental and moral philosophy have been the favorite studies; they have been the things looked forward to during the entire course. The secret has been in a method of teaching which has made the problem of realism and even the questions of the Assembly's Catechism as interesting to a class of students as a game of foot-ball or of chess. After all, the real university is the teacher; there are illimitable possibilities in his art. That art is, as has been said, yet in its infancy, but it is growing mightily, and it is along its pathway that we must look for the solution of our problem, which can never be found by abandoning the great corporate standpoint and going over to individualism in education.

*John H. Denison.*

WILLIAMSTOWN, MASS.

---

### MCMASTER'S HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

MR. JOHN BACH MCMASTER has undertaken to write the history of the people of the United States, from the Revolution to the Civil War, in five volumes, two of which, bringing the narrative down into Jefferson's administration, have already appeared. The first, published in 1883, was favorably received by critics as well as by the public; and the second, which has recently appeared, shows no loss of vigor in its execution or of interest in its materials. A new history of the United States should be its own excuse for being. Mr. McMaster's work is undoubtedly a positive contribution to history, and by its excellences no less than by its defects will provoke criticism. This should be so; for one of the

promises of a better literature is our discontent with what we already have.

It need not be said of the first edition of a work dealing with a great variety of facts, that errors have crept into it, or that some things essential to completeness have been overlooked, or that some unwarranted conclusions have been drawn from authorities cited in their support. Such errors and defects are inevitable.

Mr. McMaster possesses manifest qualifications for writing history. To say of a historian that he is honest, that he collects his materials industriously and allows them to stand for what they are worth, without foisting upon them a partisan or sectarian theory, ought to sound as strange as when said of a judicial magistrate. But it does not; and when such things can be truly said of a writer of history, it is very high praise. Mr. McMaster's industry is marvelous, even to those familiar with similar researches. He overlooks some things, but he conceals nothing. We may conjecture the direction of his sympathies in respect to the great political parties which were forming during the early stages of his history, but there is no lack of candor in dealing with them, and he dares to look even Washington in the face. This has not always been so. Charles Thomson, the patriotic secretary of the old Congress, wrote its history, which he intended to publish; but his courage failed at the pinch, and he burnt it. We might guess his reasons, even if he had not given them, when we read the "Diary of John Adams."

Mr. McMaster entitles his work "A History of the People of the United States," and thereby indicates an intention which is more fully avowed in his introductory chapter. He says that in the course of his narrative "much, indeed, must be written of wars, conspiracies, and rebellions; of presidents, of congresses, of embassies, of treaties, of the ambition of political leaders in the senate-house, and of the rise of great parties in the nation. Yet the history of the people shall be the chief theme."

He makes no claim to originality in drawing this distinction between the history of the people and of the nation to which they belong. In 1879 John Richard Green, whose early death was a loss to letters, published a "Short History of the English People," in which he proposed "to pass lightly and briefly over the details of foreign wars and diplomacies, the personal adventures of kings and nobles, the pomp of courts, or the intrigues of favorites, and to dwell at length on the incidents of that constitutional and social advance in which we read the history of the nation itself."

To Mr. Green's authority for this theory of what makes the history of the English people Mr. McMaster has now added his own for a similar theory of the history of the people of the United States. But Mr. Green's ideas upon English history appear to be questioned by high authority, presently to be adverted to; and it is proposed to offer in this paper some special considerations which make them less applicable to the history of the United States.

The success of Mr. Green's history was immediate and brilliant, — only equaled by that of Macaulay's historical essays and of his "History of England." But this success was due, in part at least, to Mr. Green's rare historical insight, to his condensation and artistic grouping of materials, and to his singularly pure and attractive style. His theory also gained adherents as a protest against that class of historical compositions in which wars, the doings of courts and parliaments, and foreign relations were treated as the staple of history, while the progress of literature, of science, of art, and of manners was relegated in brief summaries — as notably by Hume — to the end of a chapter. Hildreth, whose history is one of the best, rigorously excluded from it everything like a theory of politics, and, to make amends, published an excellent one as a separate treatise, and cynically commended it to the attention of "such critics as have complained that his history of the United States had no 'philosophy' in it."

But Mr. Green's scheme of history seems to be challenged by Professor Seeley in his "Expansion of England," who regards the progress of a people in literature, art, and manners as properly belonging to the history of the "general progress that the human race everywhere alike, and therefore also in England, may chance to be making;" and that such matters would be more fittingly treated, as they have been, in the history of literature in England.

On the other hand, he considers that "history has to do with the state; that it investigates the growth and changes of a certain corporate society, which acts through certain functionaries and certain assemblies. By the nature of the state every person who lives in a certain territory is usually a member of it, but history is not concerned with individuals, except in their capacity of members of a state. That a man in England makes a scientific discovery or paints a picture is not in itself an event in the history of England. Individuals are important in history in proportion not to their intrinsic merit, but to their relation to the state. Socrates was a much greater man than Cleon, but Cleon has a much greater space in Thucydides. Newton was a greater



man than Harley, yet it is Harley, not Newton, who fixes the attention of the historian of the reign of Queen Anne."

These extracts indicate that Mr. Green and Professor Seeley were not in accord respecting the scope and proper limitations of the history of England; and yet neither could push his views to extremes. Although Mr. Green passes lightly and briefly over foreign wars and the intrigues of courts, they form no inconsiderable part of his history when comprised in a single volume, and a still greater part when, in a new edition, that volume is expanded into four. And, on the other hand, Professor Seeley would often find himself in the presence of unorganized forces, not belonging to the state and having no direct relation to it, yet visibly affecting it, and therefore to be taken into historical account.

But even if Mr. Green's theory of the history of England is correct, it does not follow that it is applicable to that of the United States; for there is a wide difference between the two nations, and an appreciation of this difference is vital to the verity of our history. Louis XIV., without exaggeration, might exclaim, "I am the state;" and there was a time in England when the phrase, "King, Lords, and Commons" expressed the existence of a deep gulf between these factors in the constitution and the electors of the Commons. They constituted only one sixth of the people, and did not include the citizens of such great towns as Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham. And there was a still deeper gulf between these electors and the great body of unrepresented people. Nor was there on one side of this chasm knowledge, wisdom, and virtue, and on the other weakness, ignorance, and vice. For neither literature nor religion, save so far as it was political, had recognized relations to the state, or direct influence in the management of its affairs.

But Mr. McMaster finds no such state of affairs here. From the day when Englishmen first appeared on this continent in organized societies, the people and the state have been interchangeable terms; and everything included in one is also included in the other. Nor will the history of either permit the exclusion of wars, conspiracies, or rebellions, or the according to them less than their just prominence among those causes which have made the United States what they are to-day. What things constitute the proper subject of history, and their relative importance in its narrative, is determinable only by the completeness and verity of history.

The history of the United States is without pageantry or splendor, but it is unique ; and upon a due appreciation of its character, and a conformity to the requirements of a truthful setting forth of it, will chiefly depend its usefulness not only to us, but to foreign nations, which seem to be sensible to the value of the facts which lie behind it, if not to the felicity of their literary expression.

This history may be briefly outlined. The English colonies in North America, with some political and religious diversities, began their organic life on this soil under substantially the same conditions, which continued down to the Revolution. Whether they were crown-provinces, or had obtained charters from the king, or from the proprietaries, or had organized under their patents, they had moulded these various powers into constitutions of government which, in 1775, gave a higher sanction to armed resistance to royal authority than any wrongs they had suffered, or any wrongs they feared. A strange, unique history ! Thirteen incorporated land companies — for such was their legal character — developed, with only a nominal adherence to their acts of incorporation, into thirteen independent, constitutional governments. This is what they had accomplished at the close of the Revolution : not union, then ; or nationality. These, in all but the name, belong to our own day ; and, like the first, are the results of civil war.

When we look at these colonies as organized societies we find, as we find nowhere else, that the people and the state were identical. The state was the people “as a mode of action.” In other lands a king, or a king’s mistress, or a cabal, made wars, invaded personal and public rights, and ruined finances ; but if an American colony was turbulent or disobedient, it was the turbulence and disobedience of the people ; if wars were waged, or embassies dispatched, it was by their order ; if schools, colleges, or churches were set up and maintained, it was because the people willed it ; and if, at one time, the covenant was held in its rigor, and at a later time, in a modified form, it was the voice of the people speaking through the General Court, or a synod, that so ordained.

Contrast this state of affairs with what prevailed even in England, in which alone, of the European nations, popular ideas had made any considerable progress. On the side of the political organization called the state were arrayed many prerogatives no longer based on reason : the power of making war and peace irrespective of popular sentiment, and all those agencies which were

clothed with the insignia of nationality. Apart from and over against the state, but having certain relations to it, were the people, among whom might be found art, science, literature, and all those social and moral forces which do not depend upon the state for their efficiency. Where such distinctions exist between the people and their government, a history of the English people may be something apart from the history of England; but the essential correlation of the people and the government of the United States — in fact, their identity — makes the history of the people, so far as it implies a distinction, a political and historical solecism.

Apparently Mr. McMaster intended such a distinction, to judge by the title of his history, and from the fact that in the history itself, he has passed over in silence, or relegated to a subordinate place, those matters which do not have a direct relation to what is called the progress of society, using the term comprehensively.

Mr. McMaster's history opens in the midst of a sad, shameful period of our national life, if we accept the pictures he paints of it; and that they are drawn with a general fidelity to truth there can be no doubt. But it is equally true that the people suffer undeservedly in reputation by this division of their history in the middle of an important epoch, the whole of which is essential to a right understanding of its parts. The treaty of peace in 1783, with which Mr. McMaster's history opens, is an apparent, instead of a real, landmark in our history. Essentially, it was a political recognition of a fact accomplished by the capitulation of Cornwallis nearly two years before. By beginning his history at the time which he has selected, the people are not only denied the period of their glory, but also of the presentation of those circumstances which extenuate their shame. On the 19th of April, 1775, the war for independence opened with spirit, and it was carried on with courage and self-devotion. For undisciplined soldiers, the troops generally fought fairly well; and the officers were patriotic, if not particularly well educated for the profession of arms. Congress and the colonial assemblies exerted themselves with vigor, and the people did not lag behind. High-water mark of patriotism was reached in those efforts, public and private, which were crowned by the surrender of Burgoyne's army in October, 1777. With this event the people hoped the war would end; but it turned out otherwise, and the disasters at Brandywine, in September, and at Germantown, in October of the same year, fell with disheartening effect upon the country. This soon began to

appear. Enlistments gradually fell off from 46,901 in 1776 to 13,832 in 1781, the last year of the war; and the actual payments on military account, during the same period, dwindled from \$21,000,000 to \$2,000,000.<sup>1</sup> The people were becoming tired of the war, with its merciless drain upon their resources; and when the French army, with its ample military chest, took the field, there was danger lest the further prosecution of the contest would depend upon French men and French money. Jobbery and self-seeking were as rife as in the last years of the late civil war. The unpaid soldiers were mutinous, and traitors near Washington's person corruptly revealed his plans to Clinton almost as soon as they were formed. Congress was torn with dissensions, and its proceedings were marked by incapacity and indecision. And the colonial assemblies were no better. In the dire extremity of the army, — its ranks depleted, its military chest empty, the soldiers destitute of food and clothing, — requisitions were treated with indifference and almost contempt. This was the beginning of a state of affairs which continued some years after the time at which Mr. McMaster opens his history of the people. Few more humiliating stories than those he relates can be found in the annals of the Anglo-Saxon race: the treatment of the old soldiers; the barbarities practiced on the refugee loyalists; the continual disregard of Congressional requisitions for the support of the government; the Newburgh Address; the violent resistance to the administration of justice; the hostile legislation between the colonies; the proposed issue of irredeemable paper-money for the purpose, openly avowed, of defrauding creditors. These, and other similar acts, threatened political and social anarchy. Nevertheless, the people did not fall into anarchy. On the contrary, government performed its functions, and steadily moved forward in the development of more complete and efficient forms. And if the history of the people in its entirety from 1774 to 1789 be taken into account, as in fairness it ought to be, though sorely tried, they were patient, courageous, prodigal of themselves and of their money, and worthy of the highest encomiums. Their history is the history of a period. Men who signed the Address to the King in 1774 also signed the Constitution of the United States in 1787; and during this time — less than half that assigned to a generation — what labors and suffer-

<sup>1</sup> These and similar figures in this paper express facts only in a general way, and for any more exact purpose are to be received with caution, although found in respectable authorities.

ings did they not endure, what depths of humiliation did they not sound, what heights of glory did they not tread, — these men, less than three millions, who, in resistance to parliamentary taxation, put nearly three hundred thousand troops into the field, raised and paid out from the general treasury above a hundred millions of dollars, proclaimed and secured independence, changed their colonial governments without passing through a period of anarchy, quelled intestine commotions, entered into union, and established a national government which secured their prosperity and happiness! What people, in a time so brief, ever achieved so much? Nevertheless, they were very human. Sometimes they faltered; sometimes they lost heart, and even their heads; but they recovered both in season to prevent irretrievable disaster, and finally accomplished their great purpose. Now anything less than this history in its entirety, however faithful it may be in details, is injurious to their just fame, and loses its value for example or warning. Their mistakes, weaknesses and vacillation undoubtedly form a part of their history; and so do those great achievements and characteristics by which they finally triumphed. The remnant that were wise, constant, and virtuous were the people, — the Washingtons, Greenes, and Sumters, not the Arnolds, Conways, and Parsonses. In determining the character of the people of the Revolution, as a whole, it is not a question of majority. The men are to be weighed, not counted. On the side where the ultimate *force majeure* was found, there the people were to be found, — whether in the majority or in the minority no matter; and if the outcome of their endeavor was success, then were the people intelligent and wise; and if it was beneficent, then were they virtuous. The period from 1774 to 1789 was a period of rebellion, revolution, and reconstruction. But it will never be understood so long as it is regarded as an exceptional epoch in our history; for from the first day that organized English colonies were planted on American soil they began to rebel, to make revolutions, and to form constitutions. This they continued to do in clear political sequence, with scarcely a break, down to the day when they found themselves under a stable government of their own. This is true of all the colonies, and the essential political history of each is the history of every other. The history of their governments and of their peoples is one and inseparable; and their several peoples were one people, — an organism with functions of scarcely distinguishable honor or usefulness. There were no rich, no poor; no high, no low; no wise, no ignorant; no virtuous, no vicious, in the European sense of these terms.

It is doubtful, therefore, whether this history can be adequately told in a series of monographs, or if the history of the people be severed from that of the political constitutions which expressed the popular sentiment. But if this is attempted, the series certainly should include one on the people themselves; for few subjects are more interesting or instructive than the changes in the character of the people of the United States between the landing at Jamestown and the period which closes Mr. McMaster's second volume. For such a history we could well spare, or pass lightly over, some other matters. History ought to be made interesting, if verity in the general effect can be preserved. But many entertaining subjects are of secondary importance. We need not be told — certainly not with much detail — that in a new country, remote from great centres of wealth and civilization, roads were bad, bridges few or none, hotels execrable, books rare, and newspapers lacking their modern features. Such a condition of things marks only a stage of material progress, — not of civilization. Refined and cultivated communities have often found themselves surrounded by similar circumstances in the past, and so will others in the future. The essential character of the people is vastly more important.

At the time Mr. McMaster's history opens, Englishmen and their descendants, with slight admixture of other blood, had lived for a hundred and fifty years on this soil, under climate and influences widely differing from those to which their race for a thousand years had been accustomed. What changes had these new conditions produced in the physical, intellectual, or moral character of these Anglo-Americans? On its native soil the race had wrought great things and acquired a great character. Less by military genius than by courage and indomitable pluck, it had waged successful wars. Rapacious in conquest and greedy of the commercial results of colonization, yet it was the most equitable of nations in dealing with its dependencies, save Ireland, and most benign in forming governments for them. Nor was this greatness of the past alone; for recently, under the inspiration of Pitt's genius, its spirit, bursting insular bounds, had shone with unsurpassed splendor. There was no continent and no clime that did not witness it. In Europe, on the field of Rosbach, it had upheld the hands of Frederick the Great, as he repelled the last assault on Continental Protestantism. At Plassy it had opened a new empire in India. On the sea it had humbled the power of Spain; and on the Plains of Abraham it had destroyed the empire



of France in America. No people in modern times had reached such heights of national glory. Nor were their moral victories less splendid. The nameless horrors of prisons were abolished; the slave-trade was destroyed; the penal code mitigated; a reform bill passed, and moral instruction carried to the cottages of the lowly, — achievements which conferred lustre on such names as Howard, Clarkson, Wilberforce, Burke, Romilly, and Hannah More.

With such affiliations, with such inheritances, with such stimulating examples in the elder branch of the race, how did the younger branch bear itself in its western home? From their first coming to these shores to the fall of the French empire in America their work, though difficult, had been simple: to subdue a wilderness and its savage inhabitants; to develop self-government under the conditions imposed by their charters; and to promote religion, education, and social progress. But after the fall of the French power a new, complicated, and difficult problem confronted them: to subvert the disastrous commercial policy of the empire, peaceably if possible, but to subvert it at all hazards; to disrupt the empire itself when the necessity became inevitable; to declare and maintain independence; to change colonial governments into independent states, without intervening anarchy; to form and establish union under a frame of government which should recognize the autonomy of those states, while it embraced them all under a federal jurisdiction.

No people had ever undertaken a more difficult work, or accomplished it more successfully. England, in the days of Cromwell, attempted a permanent change of her government, and failed conspicuously. Later, France also failed in a similar endeavor prosecuted by methods at which mankind stood aghast.

But the American people have succeeded where those of England and of France miscarried. Chance and circumstances doubtless had something to do with this difference in results, but it was mainly owing to difference in character. The Anglo-American had acquired an element of character which did not belong to his British progenitor. Whatever he may have lost, he had gained the power of organization; and without this power he must have failed. This requires explanation. To the typical Englishman, the unit of force was the individual man; to the typical American, it was an organization. The force which reformed English prisons was John Howard; the force which reformed American prisons was the Prison Discipline Society. And something like this difference in modes of action has distinguished the two branches of

the race in those great movements which constitute the glory and the hope of the age.

This change in methods of action began in necessity. The first comers recognized it at once, and, with that practical sagacity which has always characterized them, they proceeded to organize themselves into a state-militant as a protection against an insidious foe; into a church-militant to deal summarily with intruding heretics; into town governments for the conduct of communal affairs; into school districts to carry education to every man's door; into watch-and-ward divisions for protection against fire and midnight marauders. And these people have lived and breathed and had their being in organizations ever since, and with manifest advantages, especially at the outset; for not only was every man utilized, leaving none superfluous or idle, but utilized for every conceivable exigency of the state, of which he became a part in a manner before unknown. And the value of this pervasive system of organization was even more manifest, when, in the fullness of time, barely two millions and a half of people were arrayed in resistance to the most powerful empire of the world. Never did any race exhibit such power of organization, or put it to such efficient use, as did the colonists during the American Revolution. Town governments, committees of safety, committees of correspondence, inter-colonial associations, extemporized provincial congresses, and even organized mobs kept well in hand by Samuel Adams and Isaac Sears to strike in exigencies where legal methods were inefficient, not only successfully resisted the power of Great Britain, but subverted the royal provincial governments, without violence, by provincial congresses which took their place *ad interim*.

We can seldom trace a national habit to its origin, but in this instance we may. It was due to their colonial charters; for the acceptance of a charter was in itself an act of organization, and the corporate existence in conformity to its provisions compelled the immediate organization of all those institutions, or their equivalents, such as legislatures, courts, towns, military companies, and the like, which on English soil, in the course of ages, had grown up without organization. A new necessity formed a new habit. And the habit once formed, the people organized themselves in all possible relations to the colonial state, and finally to all religious, social, and moral enterprises. Happily for them, also, the acceptance of charters changed their natural relations to the parent country into organic political relations to the Crown which engaged the power

of the state for their protection from domestic anarchy and foreign foes. The lack of this advantage, which can hardly be overestimated, is manifest in the unhappy condition of those colonies — of which Rhode Island is an example — which were without charters, or acquired them too late. This was not fully understood by either party at the time; but we now see that when Charles I. signed a colonial charter, he signed an instrument which, in the hands of the colonists, became an incipient declaration of independence to disturb all his successors; and the fact that the English colonies were lands held of the crown, or were corporations within the realm for extra-territorial purposes, and as such created certain reciprocal rights and duties, is the master-key which unlocks their political history from Jamestown to Lexington.

This acquired faculty of organization still abides, and is used for the accomplishment of every conceivable purpose, and perhaps threatens to impair the force of individual action in great enterprises. But it ought not to be overlooked in the history of the people of the United States; for to it the people owe their independence. It is their greatest contribution to the science of practical politics, and its use is becoming common and efficient in other lands.<sup>1</sup>

But it is in the state that our history mainly centres, and there it must be sought; for by the government have been accomplished those ends which most powerfully effected not only the material prosperity of the people, but also their national character. It was by a foreign treaty that the people gained a recognized position among the nations; by the same treaty their rights in the fisheries were restored, and thus was formed a nursery of hardy seamen who, when free play was given to their spirit, challenged

<sup>1</sup> De Tocqueville opens the XIIth chapter of his first volume of *Democracy in America* with these words: "In no country in the world has the principle of association been more successfully used, or applied to a greater multitude of objects, than in America;" but he states the fact as he found it when he wrote, without tracing its historical origin. In the Vth chapter of his second volume, he recurs to the subject and asks, "Is this the result of accident? or is there in reality any necessary connection between the principle of association and that of equality?" Apparently he thought there was. But association in America is a historical fact which antedates by sixty years the operation of politico-philosophical causes. The first act of social existence in the dominating colony of New England was an act of association which made necessary all successive steps in that direction. Equality was scarcely a genetic force in a close corporation of landholders into which the prime condition of entrance was membership in the established colonial church. Of the general correctness of De Tocqueville's view, however, there can be little doubt.

England's assumed sovereignty of the seas; and it was the same treaty which opened the Mississippi to the turbulent commerce which poured down from its tributaries. The ordinance of 1787 — which Mr. McMaster has passed over without endeavoring to unravel its intricate history, and with only slight recognition of its character — excluded slavery from the Northwest, and made it the home of freemen who now have grown to prosperous millions. It was by treaty that Louisiana was purchased in 1803, including territory which more than doubled the area of the Union, and saved to Anglo-American laws, customs, and manners the vast regions beyond the great river. It was through the Assumption Act and the Funding System that Hamilton "touched the dead corpse of the Public Credit, and it sprung upon its feet," — acts whose moral significance is found in the fact that the public credit has ever since been without stain, that specie payment was resumed, and that justice was done to the veterans of the civil war.

Such are some of the themes — "of congresses, of embassies, of treaties" — which enter into the real history of the people of the United States, and constitute its chief value for the citizen as well as for the student. They ought not to be crowded into a corner!

On the other hand, it is noticeable that from the peace of 1783 to the close of Washington's administration such matters as are embraced in the phrase "the progress of society" were almost of necessity in abeyance. For during this period the States were perfecting the machinery of their several governments, and the general government was determining its own powers, and adjusting its relations to the States. The people were chiefly occupied "with wars, conspiracies, rebellions; with presidents, with congresses, with embassies, and with treaties," which Mr. McMaster regards as of secondary importance.

But though they were chiefly so concerned, nevertheless molecular action was going on which affected their moral and intellectual character; it was due, however, neither to the state nor to popular action, but to forces entirely overlooked by Mr. McMaster, or so treated by him as to afford no indication of their power. For when Francis Asbury, John Murray, Elhanan Winchester, and Joseph Priestley died, the people of the United States were something quite different from what they would have been had these Englishmen never lived and labored on American soil. Asbury's influence, doubtless, was the most widely and most powerfully felt; and it is, perhaps, no exaggeration to say that

he saved the West and the Southwest to civilization. For as the hardy but illiterate people from the hills of Virginia and the Carolinas scaled the Alleghanies, and from their western slopes descended into the valley of the Mississippi, it was Asbury and the three thousand Methodist preachers ordained by him who met and organized them into religious societies, so that within twenty years from the peace of 1783 these trans-Alleghanian communities were nearly as well supplied with religious institutions as the older States from which they had emigrated.

The labors of Murray and Winchester, the apostles of Universalism, also, were too considerable to be passed silently by in the history of the people of the United States, and the same may be said of the rehabilitation of Episcopacy by Madison, Seabury, Parker, Bass, and White.

Of Priestley's scientific and political influence we are told something, but nothing of his theological opinions, which a little later convulsed New England churches, and gained adherents from whom came the greater part of our imaginative literature even to the present day.

No reasonable exception can be taken to Mr. McMaster's low estimate of colonial imaginative literature, and he doubtless places a just value — which is high — upon the theological speculations of those days, which for acuteness and depth were not surpassed by any similar work emanating from the British islands. But the historian should not undervalue the political pamphlets of Otis, Hutchinson, the Adamses, Jay, Dickinson, and Livingston, for they have not been surpassed either in the discussion of great principles or in their application to practical affairs. The legal erudition of those times, also, is almost phenomenal when it is considered that from a people without training in legal principles, and with a profound distrust of lawyers, there sprang almost at a bound, when needed, men such as Gridley, Prat, Adams, Parsons, Jay, Dulaney, Wythe, and Marshall, either of whom, with a little special training, would have filled with credit the place of Mansfield, of Camden, or of Eldon.

The causes of the literary poverty of men of such large and varied general ability opens up an interesting field of speculation, but not to be entered upon at this time.

It is easier to raise questions respecting the history of the people of the United States than it is to answer them. Nevertheless, such questions are legitimate. For example, Mr. McMaster tells us that "in the Southern States education was almost wholly neg-

lected, but nowhere to such an extent as in South Carolina." And yet, from Virginia and the Carolinas emigrated to Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi a race of men like Andrew Jackson, George Rogers Clarke, and John Sevier, who not only wrote good hands (as their early autograph letters, preserved in collections, show), but who seemed to be fairly educated for civil affairs, and able to carry forward, in their new homes, a civilization differing in some respects from that of the East, but in no respect inferior to that of the communities they left behind them. These were not the sons of wealthy planters, educated at Eton, Winchester, or Hackney, or even at William and Mary; or of parents able to provide for them private tutors. The educational history of these emigrants is an interesting subject for investigation.

The modification of the character of the descendants of Englishmen on this soil, already spoken of, was brought about mainly by their situation. But during the last quarter of the eighteenth century there had come into their life a new force, — faith in the power of ideas. Down to that time Anglo-Americans, like their progenitors, were men severely practical, and averse to general propositions. Their faith in the power of creeds and dogmas, religious and political, was steadfast. They believed in heavy battalions and serried ranks, but with them faith in the power of ideas was not even a conception. Their legislation related to affairs, not to systems; and the doctrinaire was not known within their borders. But for the last century it has been different, and this difference is due to Jefferson. Where Jefferson got his idealism is a mystery; for though he has many disciples, he had no known master. It is usual to attribute it to the influence of French writers — Rousseau especially; but the vitality and permanence of this element in his character suggest an original rather than an acquired force. About Jefferson as the head of a party, as an administrator, and even as a man, opinions may differ; but there can be little doubt that he was the first statesman who had faith in the sufficiency of ideas not merely as tests of the validity of political institutions, but as a power to subvert arbitrary government, and overthrow errors however strongly entrenched in ancient wrong. In this respect perhaps he stands first among thinkers, and certainly is among the greatest of those who have profoundly and beneficently modified the character of an entire people. His influence seems destined to affect the thought of mankind.

De Tocqueville has noticed this change. "The Americans," he



says, "are much more addicted to the use of general ideas than the English, and entertain a much greater relish for them: this appears very singular at first, when it is remembered that the two nations have the same origin, that they lived for centuries under the same laws, and that they incessantly interchange their opinions and their manners. . . . They have no philosophical school of their own, . . . yet they have a philosophical method common to the whole people." The way may have been prepared for this change, as he suggests, by their democratic habits, but Jefferson was the founder of the school of political idealists. He struck the keynote, first heard in his "Summary View," in 1774, and with a louder strain sent it round the world in the great Declaration. If one would see the change produced by Jefferson, let him read the Declaration of Rights by the Congress of 1774, and then the Declaration of Independence of 1776. One is a specification as cold as an indictment to be tried by a petit jury; the other, a trumpet call to the race and to the ages. It was the comprehensiveness of Jefferson's immortal Declaration which made it powerful in one generation to sever the bands of an empire, and in another to break the shackles of four millions of slaves, and in the present — but who shall forecast the future of Ireland, or limit the potency of Jefferson's words? To redress the balance between England and her colonies he invoked the power of ideas. He thus added to the armory of a struggling people a new weapon, — now the dynamics of nationalities, — restless, resistless, unsailable by fleets or armies.

This force, which Jefferson set in motion, sometimes took a direction which he did not contemplate, and of which he would not have approved. The real inspiration of the young statesmen who forced the war of 1812 was less the local cry of "free trade and sailors' rights" than an aspiration towards nationality, caught not from Jefferson, indeed, — for the father of State-rights was not a nationalist, — but for which they were indebted, nevertheless, to Jefferson's idealism: an aspiration to which Webster gave utterance at Bunker Hill in words never forgotten, "Our country, our whole country, and nothing but our country;" and again, even more effectively, in the Senate Chamber, in those other words, "the Union, one and inseparable," taken up by the people and realized after four years of civil war.

The advent of such a force into the life of a people is rare, and when apprehended in its full significance it is one of the most impressive events in their history; and its recognition is a test of his-

toric insight. It is America's contribution to political philosophy; and if it be thought to belong to politics rather than to history, it is, nevertheless, an event inseparably connected with the history of the people of the United States, and is fast becoming a part of the history of the human race. As the race moves down through the ages, it has a life and progress which includes the life and progress of every nationality. Into this mighty stream come affluents which bear on their surface traces of the soil and vegetation of their sources, and these mark the differences between nations.

Mr. McMaster's book is a valuable contribution to our history, and will be the cause of work better than its own. His industrious collection of materials, and his effective arrangement and courageous presentation of them, cannot fail to stimulate other workers in the same field. But he does not always discriminate as to the value of authorities, and his history suffers somewhat in consequence. Observations in science, unless made under conditions which insure accuracy, are of little value; and this is beginning to be recognized in respect to history. No conclusions should be drawn from the unsupported testimony of such travelers as Anbury or Brissot; and sectarian and party prejudices often render worthless the works of native historians.

With these observations we take leave of Mr. McMaster's history. Where we have received so much, and of so great value, it is ungracious to ask for more, or for something different; but our just claims upon Mr. McMaster are limited only by his ability. His series of historical monographs is accepted with gratitude; but if he has

"left half-told

The story"

which he is able to tell in full, — and certain vital signs leave little doubt on that point, — he must forgive us if we are not entirely satisfied with what he has already done.

*Mellen Chamberlain.*

BOSTON, MASS.

## THE SPIRITUAL PROBLEM OF THE MANUFACTURING TOWN.

## III.

IN the manufacturing town are to be found the evil conditions which give rise to many of the most serious difficulties of our times. The problem is exceedingly complex, because it is the result of a combination of many problems.

One of the most prominent is the antagonism of capital and labor. On one side are corporations organized for the supreme purpose of money-making, and which often have little regard to anything else. On the other side are the labor-unions, increasingly conscious of the power to be obtained by combination. Many of their members think themselves the victims of long-continued injustice; they are increasingly influenced by the doctrines of Socialism, perhaps even by the spirit of Communism or Nihilism. Partly behind the labor problem and partly involved in it is the problem of the transformation of business and industrial life by the power of a spirit positively Christian. It is the spirit which puts worth above self, the spirit of mutual care and manly brotherhood. In its control it would work a most beneficent revolution in the maxims and usages of business, in processes and results; it would put an end to destructive competitions and no less destructive combinations; it would bring a larger and steadier material prosperity. In our day no transformation is more urgently needed. In many communities it is an indispensable condition of any considerable progress of the gospel.

There are various social problems. One grows out of the industrial employment of women and the consequent degeneration of the family. Another is made by the industrial development of classes and castes; by increasing isolation instead of intercourse, alienation instead of sympathy, antagonism instead of helpfulness. Others are made by conditions which develop pauperism and the vices of appetite and passion, by the stupefying influence of perpetual confinement to automatic machinery. The educational problem is the result of the employment of children and the importation of absolute illiteracy. There is the political problem of the assimilation of diverse peoples having conflicting traditions, opinions, and faiths; the evolution of a body politic in which the best elements of American life shall be perpetuated, modified only by that which is best in other nationalities and races. There is

the civil problem of maintaining true liberty against lawlessness, protecting the rights of individuals and classes, preserving order and good government by overcoming a multitude of influences which tend to corruption and dissolution. The specifically religious problem is itself complex. It includes the counteraction of tendencies to infidelity, the winning of habitual and prejudiced "neglecters," the harmonizing of sects, the reformation of corrupt forms of Christianity, the evangelization of towns and cities, the positive development of the kingdom of God in its power and glory.

All these separate problems are merely elements of the general problem presented by the manufacturing town. The town is one, its life is one, but the forces and phases of life are many. The evil which is developed in one sphere produces results in other spheres. There is the perpetual interaction of an organism, and its perpetual unity.

The problem has been called "spiritual" as indication that it would be considered with primary reference to its spiritual aspects. But spiritual forces continually work in industrial forms; and, conversely, the spiritual quality is often the product of industrial conditions. The word "spiritual" was used rather than "religious" to guard against misapprehension. There are many who think of religion as having a limited and separate sphere. No mistake could be greater. It concerns the whole life, inner and outer. Christianity requires a condition of liberty, for character can be developed only in liberty. It requires a culture of intelligence, and cannot produce its fruits without intelligence. It must purify the tastes and stimulate the aspirations, or be perverted and corrupted by evil tastes. It must ennoble and sanctify the home, or the evil home will make piety a hypocrisy. It must regenerate society, and transform industrial life, business, and politics, or the misdoings, during six days of the week, of those who are nominally Christian will make the Christian name a name of infamy. It must unify diverse peoples and races, and save the world, or be confessed a failure. It is demonstrable that evil industrial conditions have caused degeneration of body and mind, have promoted ignorance and immorality, and, when employers have been professedly Christian men, have produced intense aversion to Christianity, — produced infidelity, atheism, Nihilism. Christianity must do away with all such conditions. Truly understood, the religious problem is the problem of the whole life of the individual, the community, the world.

The speculative solution of the problem is most difficult. But when men really desire a solution, the practical solution is often easier than the speculative. After a few reforms, perhaps after one vital transformation, all the rest comes right of itself. The chief difficulty in the present case is found in the fact that, among all classes concerned, there are those who do not wish a true and real solution. If successful it must be made so against their most vigorous and skillful opposition. Therefore there is still need of invoking the power of government in the enactment and enforcement of law.

The state must protect itself. Its welfare and even its continued existence depend upon the intelligence and virtue of a majority of its citizens. It is said, and probably with truth, that the balance of political power in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts is now held by the manufacturing towns and cities. It is into these towns that about 140,000 Canadian Frenchmen have been imported in recent years. In different towns they differ in the amount of their education and in their general development. But among some 15,000 of them in one town, not more than one third of the adults can read in any language. In general their inability is scarcely a fault of theirs; nor is the frequent low grade of development in other respects. The race constitution of the French people in Europe and America is full of admirable qualities. Not a few of them have been prevented from development. In the Province of Quebec, from which our immigrants come, the Roman Catholic Church has legal power to collect its tithes and enforce its decrees. From the early days of New France it has had the control of public education, and during the whole period has had the use of the general and local taxes levied for the support of education. The condition of these immigrants is, therefore, fair evidence of the education which the Church thinks needful for the masses of the people, and which it gives in its schools. That condition is also fair indication of the work which, if left to itself, it would do for the masses in parochial schools in New England.

For various reasons, therefore, the state must insist upon its own ideal of education. Especially must it insist upon the sufficient education of children employed by manufacturing corporations; and the more because of the stupefying effect of the mechanical form of labor. The education must be sufficient not merely to qualify for self-support, but to fit for intelligent and worthy citizenship in a free republic. With the tendencies of our school

system it is becoming increasingly needful to require certain attainments in secular learning, instead of a certain period of time in school. In respect to the examiners who shall test the attainment of scholars, we may well take a lesson from the French Republic, which has had long experience with the dangers which threaten us. French law requires that the Board of Examiners must be entirely distinct from the School Committee, and must be appointed by the government instead of elected by the voters of the given locality. It further provides that no ecclesiastic and no one who has taken religious vows shall be eligible for the appointment.

There are other dangers against which the state must protect itself. The ordinary corporation concentrates its attention upon its own pecuniary profit. It refuses to admit that any moral or spiritual problem, or problem of civilization, calls for its concern. Managers have sometimes said in express terms, The moral problem must take care of itself; it is not our business to look after that. We deal with matters industrial, and with those only; with machinery and its products, with laborers and their wages. In such matters we have a right to do as we please. If there are incidental evils, we are not responsible for them. The state must look after education and political results, society and the church must care for morals and religion. To all such corporations the state may properly reply, The case is not as simple as you make it. In your industrial management there are other interests to be considered besides your pecuniary gains, and other results besides the multiplication of your material products. You are not merely manufacturing cloth, shoes, or iron; not merely mining coal or engaged in transportation. You are developing qualities and conditions of human life, establishing institutions, generating types of civilization, inevitably influencing character in all its relations. You must take your whole responsibility. You must provide against the evils you are producing or occasioning. Merely for your pecuniary profit you will not be allowed, with impunity, to import ignorance, to endanger the state by filling it with low grades of civilization. You will not be allowed, by careless and mercenary administration, to develop antagonistic classes and castes, breed alienation between them and induce conflicts that imperil the welfare and even the very structure of society. If the plea of industrial necessity is offered, corporations have themselves furnished the answer. They have often said to their dissatisfied workmen, You are not obliged to work for us; if you do



not like our wages you can go elsewhere. So to them it may be said, You are not obliged to engage in these industries; you can turn your attention to something else; but wreck or imperil the state, corrupt or degrade the town, by your greed of gain, you shall not.

Certain organic mischiefs are increasingly serious. Corporations have frequently been formed in the interest of a few stockholders. One is a landowner, others are builders of machinery, others furnish materials or labor of various kinds. These persons combine to organize a corporation. They take a controlling amount of the stock, and elect themselves directors at the organization, and from year to year thereafter. To pay for their stock they turn in a portion of the land, machinery, or materials, which they contract to furnish. The remainder of the stock is sold to smaller holders who must in every case pay cash; and with their payments the building of the mill is begun. The capital on which stock is issued amounts to not more than three fourths of the cost of the mill, sometimes to not more than half. In order to complete it the corporation must borrow money. The debt thus contracted the mill carries year after year, until it can be paid from the profits. The stockholders then have a property worth more than the capital put in, and the directors have a large property for which they have paid very little. In some cases speculators have been members of the original combination. Notes were given for their stock, and the notes were carried by the mill. In other words, the stock was covered by money borrowed by the corporation, but the interest on such loans was paid by the stockholders. Both debt and interest are ultimately paid by dividends; so that, in the end, such directors have a property for which they have paid nothing. The mill is then managed by these directors, at their own discretion, as if they were the corporation. In a stock vote they of course outvote all other stockholders. They have supreme regard to their own interests, which do not always coincide with the interests of smaller stockholders, who are more numerous. They are often despotic and oppressive in administration. There are legal difficulties in the way of expenditures for the benefit of operatives. The directors claim that they have no power to appropriate the money of stockholders for reading-rooms, libraries, or any similar purposes. Unless absolutely unanimous, they say, even the stockholders may not thus appropriate the money of the corporation. Instances have been known in which the objection of a single and small stockholder has prevented such

appropriation. But if there comes a strike in some mills to raise wages in all, corporations may combine to uphold each other. There is then no legal difficulty in the way of appropriating from the profits of one mill to pay another for its vicarious losses until the strike is ended. The sum for each mill may not be very large, and, in the balance-sheet, it is easily charged to some general expense account.

In the face of facts like these, and, in other departments of industry, in the face of greatly worse facts, political economists tell us that all capital comes from the savings of labor. They claim that due consideration and application of this statement will go far to still the conflicts of capital and labor. Whether they intend it or not, such words, in such a connection, mean that property has come into the hands of the capitalists of to-day as the savings of their labor or that of their ancestors. Or it has come as the product of their wisdom in saving the labor of many others. Therefore the laborers of to-day should cease complaining and go to saving. Saving is always desirable, if possible; but, in one meaning of them, these words of political economy are true only of the infantile condition of society or of the small beginnings of capital. In the other meaning, it is still an open question whether the capitalist has not "saved" for himself a portion greatly in excess of his comparative wisdom. For the rest, the words are true only of the normal condition of society; and the normal condition has not yet been reached, the kingdom of heaven has not yet come. As an account of the existing distribution of capital, the words are notoriously and glaringly untrue. The greatest fortunes of our times have been made by the managers of corporations, who, in various ways, have used the power and the property of the corporation for their own private advantage. The capital they have handled has not been their own, but the gains of it, righteous or unrighteous, have gone, in large measure, into their own pockets. The corporation property they have managed has sometimes been preserved, and sometimes wrecked; by various arts it has often been gradually absorbed by the managers; employees have often been oppressed; and for such things there has been no legal redress. With loaded dice some of these men have gambled with other men's property, or have made unscrupulous and successful warfare upon other fortunes. These are the men who have produced the serious conflicts between labor and capital, have embarrassed the business and imperiled the welfare of the country, and have made whole departments of business mere

gambling. It has all been under cover of the forms and technicalities of law. We need a change of such forms. We need wise and effective legislation to guard against the capture of corporations by a few managers, the despotism of their management, the perversion of corporation property for their benefit, the sheer robbery which sometimes takes place. It is easier to see the need than to supply it. But men who are accustomed to deal with such matters, students of law who are also students of life, and especially statesmen worthy the name, should be able to frame the legislation needed. It is one of the most urgent civil needs of our time.

There is great need of bringing labor-unions under the regulation of law, as in England and France. To that end they should be recognized by law, and if by some form of incorporation, so much the better. The union should be prohibited, as in France, from using any form of constraint to induce workmen to join it; and from any form of opposition to the employment of non-union workmen. The right to join, or not to join, must be equally maintained. Provision for arbitration, in case of difficulties between employer and workmen, is increasingly demanded. It accords with the judgment of both practical men and thinkers, and has been found to work well. In case of permanent disagreement, the right to strike must be recognized, and carefully guarded. When men strike they renounce their engagement to labor, and give up their positions. For the positions are theirs only on condition of continuing to labor for wages that may be agreed upon between laborer and employer. The factory is not theirs; refusing to labor for wages which the owner is willing to pay, they have no further concern with it. Aside from pay for previous work, they have no further claim upon the corporation. They have no right of re-employment; they have already renounced it. The attempt to prevent other men from taking their places, to prevent owners from carrying on their business, is a serious crime. It is a denial of the liberty of others, a usurpation of the highest powers of government.

The right of corporations to give employment in entire independence of the dictation of strikers must be vigorously maintained, and the equal right of any man to take employment, if he wishes it. There are various forms of intimidation; every form should be stringently prohibited. Strikers have no right to loiter about a mill as workmen go in and out, nor to haunt the paths of workmen between the mill and their residences, hooting, jeering,

or disturbing. The strike is a public and well-known fact; it is itself a proclamation to all the world of the grievances of previous employees, and of their consequent action. That proclamation made, any further right of strikers to come between the corporation and the prosecution of its industry may well be questioned. If public welfare is imperiled, the interference becomes a crime of much greater magnitude. The right of national combination can not be questioned, but if such combination continues, it also will need regulation by law. Recent measures go far to establish a government within a government,—a government which endangers personal liberty and the foundations of personal character, which threatens a wide exercise of sheer tyranny, and in many ways imperils public welfare. The courts have already decided that the threat to boycott is conspiracy, for which penalties are provided. The relation of employer and employed is a personal relation. It admits of voluntary combination on both sides, but only upon condition of the preservation of entire personal liberty. With the surrender of liberty manhood is surrendered, and a condition of serfdom accepted.

Most of the industrial evils which call for the interference of legislation are caused by selfish systems of industry, administered in the spirit of reckless greed. The results are seen in the grave perils which in recent months have menaced the people of the United States. The unreason, recklessness, and violence of laboring men are the natural outcome of a long period of serious abuses, and of Socialist doctrines which have been made plausible by abuses. The over-production of manufacturing industry, and its consequent unprofitableness, is also the result of a greed which perverted the judgment of business men. While prices remained good, every corporation increased its machinery, that it might make larger gains than its neighbors, or lest its neighbors should get unfair advantage of it. One moment's cool thought would have made it plain that the country and the world could not appropriate all the products thus rapidly increased. The evil is doubtless temporary, but meanwhile the glut of the market and competition prevent profit. Therefore wages are reduced, and employers complain if laborers are dissatisfied. The laborer is surely not to blame for the over-production, nor for the greed that caused it.

Selfish systems of business have nearly or quite reached their utmost limit of endurance. The knell of their doom has already struck. Business cannot continue to be carried on as a game of

grab, leaving humanity, morals, and the higher civilization to take care of themselves. Not a few corporations and business men have been waspishly sensitive at the suggestion of any other business principle than that of supreme regard for personal profit. But they are harming none more than themselves, and are their own worst enemies. The history of business life in all countries and in all ages proves that moral law is supreme, and that there is no safer principle than that of the golden rule. In worthy enterprise they ordinarily succeed best whose principles and administration are noblest. The pecuniary profit of many mills would be greatly increased by a high moral administration. Care for character, for the general elevation and welfare of operatives, would prevent the enormous waste of wages spent for liquors, the wastes of thriftless housekeeping, the squandering of unaspiring hopelessness, the losses of the strikes that come from selfishness on one side and bitterness on the other. With such savings, existing wages would be more adequate; and many of the causes of the conflict between labor and capital would be taken away.

Consider, therefore, a business administration in which moral principles are recognized. It is not less sagacious, vigorous, and efficient, but more so. It recognizes the moral responsibility of power and superior position, the truth of the maxim, *Noblesse oblige*. It recognizes the economic truth that better character means better work. At the outset, therefore, there is careful selection of workmen; or, if that be not possible, there comes a steady weeding out, or reforming, of the unworthy. The next question is the general relation of employer and workmen. The human relation takes precedence of the industrial. It is a relation of beings having a common humanity and certain common rights, among which are those of mutual regard for worth and welfare, mutual respect and courtesy. The humanity of the employer may have had a higher development than that of the workman; though if one means morally higher, that is not always true. It has commonly had a larger development, and is so far forth superior. But that superiority increases responsibility; it gives no warrant for disdain or disregard.

In the industrial relation there is employment with direction on the one hand, and service with faithfulness on the other. Details differ in different departments of labor. In manufactures a certain permanence is contemplated on both sides. In answer to a demand for their work, laborers often come from a distance. They bring their families and establish homes. They depend on

the steadiness of employment for the maintenance of their families. With worthiness of employer and employed, the more permanent the relation the better for both parties. A factory is an industrial and social organization, of which the corporation is the head and all the workmen are members. Production implies joint activity. The corporation furnishes capital, buildings, machinery, and general supervision; the workmen take the details of supervision and furnish continuous labor. In the actual nature of the industry, therefore, the relation is essentially a partnership, with subordination. Capital is indispensable to labor, labor to capital. The whole production of the mill is, from beginning to end, a production of the two combined. The profits are profits upon the union of the two. This fact of essential and complete partnership gives peculiar significance to the application, in manufactures, of the principle that the interests of capital and labor are identical. Then make them identical: in the past they have been made practically antagonistic. A corporation seeking only its own advantage, and reducing the cost of labor to the lowest point, means antagonism.

Since last February, when the second article of this series was written, there has been rapid evolution of opinion respecting the true mode of ending the wage-war. Coöperation, which, years ago, seemed to be the ideal, has been found impracticable as a universal system. By the very conception of it the mere capitalist is excluded. But industrial life cannot do without him. In many cases he is not wealthy; as member of a stock company he invests a moderate sum in an industry in which he cannot take the place of laborer. The laborer has need of such investments. Even in the comparatively few cases in which machine-tenders can supply or obtain the needed capital, there comes the very serious practical difficulty of administration. An expert is needed, with sagacity and organizing power, — though nothing is more certain than that many managers are not experts. Many a laborer thinks himself competent, but his fellows do not agree with him; and one whom they do unite upon is quite apt to fail. Coöperation has been more successful in distribution than in production.

Here and there industrial partnership has been tried for many years, with excellent results; but until recently its power to solve a serious problem was little considered. In the past few years, both in Europe and America, it has been increasingly resorted to under the name "profit-sharing." The testimony of results is



nearly uniform, and, with increasing conflict on the labor question, that testimony has been coming out. Grant, first, a sliding scale of wages established as a principle, instead of the struggle for increase sure to be successful on a rising market, and the cut-down sure to come with a falling market. Wages always vary with the market price of goods; the sliding scale, agreed upon between employer and employed, is strongly commended by the employers who have tried it. It puts an end to one frequent cause of friction and irritation respecting wages. Then, if need be, have a provision for arbitration, in case of disagreement. Lastly, and chiefly, make distribution of the profits of manufacture among all the real partners in production. It is understood that there are no profits until all expenses are paid; including wages, salaries, and (commonly) a reasonable interest on capital invested. The proportion in the division of profits between stockholders and laborers may give difficulty. Thus far, however, the difficulty has been slight and easily overcome. Provision for enabling laborers to become stockholders would reduce the difficulty. The proportion and the methods in distribution have been various; the details are given in books and periodicals, and need not be repeated here.

The merits of the profit-sharing system are that it is a practical recognition of partnership in production; that it promises to end the warfare of capital and labor by uniting the two in one common business interest; that it will promote economy in manufacture, since operatives will have a personal interest in increasing production, preventing waste, and caring for machinery; that it will be a mighty uplifting power in character and condition, giving impulse to aspiration, motive to hope, and incentive to thrift; and that it will be an aid in the weeding out, or reforming, of incompetent and unworthy workmen, since the common welfare depends on it. The mischiefs connected with labor-unions could be got rid of, since they have been the result of a condition of conflict. It would be more easy to establish a tariff of wages, with discrimination according to the industrial worth of each workman. It is well known that the present dead level of wages prevents discrimination, takes away all motive of excellence, and makes the poor workman fairly secure in his position. With a satisfactory adjustment of the wage question, the provision of reading-rooms, libraries, and entertainments could easily be made a common expense, or might not be needed. In any case it could not then be considered a form of patronage, or a device of greed to pacify a just discontent.

Under an administration which recognizes humanity and moral duties, industrial castes will come to an end. To hasten their disappearance, intercourse of employers and employed is exceedingly desirable. Why should they pass each other in the mill, the yard, or elsewhere, without sign of recognition, and sometimes with mutual disdain? It matters nothing that the employer does not know the name of his workman. They are partners in production, the welfare of each depends on the other, and the primary duty of courtesy rests upon the superior in position. It is precisely by personal and human disregard that the most painful stings have been given to labor, and caste distinctions been most effectively developed. With permanent workmen it will not be difficult occasionally to come into some genial, personal contact that will manifest a personal interest. Even a little of such intercourse — with the worthiest or the weakest — will not be without its winning, stimulating, and uplifting influence on the whole body of workmen. In one of the large factories of New England, owned by a group of related families, the owners have a personal acquaintance with every workman, and their wives are acquainted with the workmen's families, visiting them, especially in cases of sickness or need.

The spirit of the corporation makes itself felt chiefly through the officials. Therefore, from highest to lowest, there should be the greatest care in selecting them. Of course they should be capable and efficient business managers, but they should be much more. The directors have far higher responsibilities than those connected with purchases, sales, and dividends. If possible to prevent it, no selfish, churlish, inhuman, or merely shrewd man should be made a director, simply because he is a large stockholder. Even more needful is it that the agent should have a manhood of the noblest and worthiest type. Few men exercise so direct and mighty an influence for good or evil, for demoralization or elevation; and it is all the more effective because transmitted through industrial channels. The superintendent and overseers execute his will, while in many matters they are also his trusted advisers. They come into continual contact with the mass of operatives of all ages and both sexes. Their position is sometimes one of great temptation; no vicious or low-minded man, no clannish man or partisan, no unfair or unmerciful man should be allowed a place. The management of large numbers of workmen makes the enforcement of rules necessary, but the rules may be wholly fair and righteous, and discrimination in peculiar cases

should always be possible. Good order must be maintained, thorough attention to business, and the best production which the industrial conditions permit. But mill discipline is moral discipline; it should carry the conscience of the workman with it, elevating his moral tone, developing his human as well as his industrial worth. According to the degree of their justice, fines for poor work may improve manhood or fill it with an evil and reckless spirit. Overseers are not slave-drivers, whose duty it is to increase the profit of the corporation by injustice to the workmen. One writes: "I think — sometimes acts as if he wanted the help to do poorly, so that he can have an opportunity to put the law on them. It is a hard place for a man who tries to be square, and to look on both sides, to be an overseer. It is all right for one who is willing to do anything that he is told, without regard to right or wrong, and who asks no questions. I hope you will remember me in your prayers, that I may be kept from the evil, and may keep my heart loving towards my fellow men."

No other force is so potent for the moral uplifting of operatives as the perpetually working power which controls their whole industrial life, when that power is rightly guided. It can generate and maintain aspiration in them; and with aspiration they will seek continual improvement. The rules and the spirit of mill administration can deal with the vice of intemperance in a manufacturing town more effectively than all other forces combined. Men who are made manly by the influence and discipline of industrial life will not readily allow themselves to be made the tools of intriguing politicians. Employers who command their personal confidence and esteem can have influence with workmen greater than that of any other persons. The managers of one of the large mills already referred to mingle freely with their men on election days, discussing measures and candidates. Because of personal and official respect great influence is thus exerted, in which there is no element of dictation. For it is well understood that each employee has absolute liberty to vote as he pleases, and at every election workmen use their liberty to vote against the candidates preferred by their employers. It is scarcely necessary to add that in the elevation of mill-workers one most efficient instrumentality is that of the worthier operatives. They should be encouraged to exert their influence to the utmost. They have intimate knowledge of their fellows, and there are the sympathies of race, station, and occupation.

The religious influence of the corporation must not be over-

looked. As a factory is an organized unity of human life, having moral quality and influence, so, also, it is inevitably a force in religion. Operatives have religious influence with one another, and have influence in the town. Their influence varies according as they are Protestant, Catholic, or non-religious. All these classes coexist, but the corporation determines the predominance. Roman Catholics are imported by the hundred thousand, and then corporations presume to hold the state and the church responsible for the preservation of the distinguishing characteristics of Protestant civilization and Protestant Christianity. The majority of managers, directors, and prominent owners of mills have been connected with Protestant churches, either as members or supporters. In either case they have been believers in Christianity, and have been regarded as representing it. It is not too much to say that in many cases the religious condition of their employees would have been better if they had been avowed atheists. The spirit of business administration has often been the spirit of greed. In the wage-contests of the past half century, corporations have often made hard bargains, taking advantage of human necessities instead of regarding justice and humanity. In making advance of wages they have sometimes taken away with one hand a part of what they granted with the other. They have often used their power oppressively. Then, on the plea of not depriving their workmen of needed wages, they have had repairs made on Sunday, and sometimes have made changes of old machinery for new on Sunday. With proper management Sunday work is rarely necessary. Remembering man's need of a holy day, and the perils which threaten from the increasing disregard of it, it were, perhaps, better to say that Sunday work in factories is never necessary; that an occasional holiday would always be preferable, especially in these days of over-production. Be that as it may, the plea of care for the operative has not harmonized with the grasping selfishness of general administration. The operative has scorned the plea as insincere. In other departments of industrial life there have been similar facts. The result of them all has shown itself in widespread infidelity among wage-workers. It has not been on account of any theoretical arguments which they have heard — against miracles, prayer, inspiration; against Christ or his gospel. By their unchristian conduct employers professing Christianity have generated infidelity. Some of their workmen have said, If that is Christianity, I am better without it. Others have compared the business life of professedly Christian men with

the requirements of the New Testament — to seek first the kingdom of God, to look not every man on his own things — and have lost confidence in the church. Thus the hands of the church have been tied, and its efforts often made vain.

Of course, as said in the previous article, there have been many different facts. Many Christian men have honored their profession in business. Many corporations, composed of such men, have shone as lights, and in their secular affairs have been effective promoters of the gospel. They make no difficult problems in life; they show, rather, how to solve all problems. By facts in industrial life, however, a positive and strong bias against Christianity has been produced. It can be removed or changed only in the same industrial sphere. The business life of Christian men must be conformed to Christian principle. In the spirit it manifests, and the moral quality of the results it produces, it must be made a mode of religious service. The kingdom of God, of which Christ taught, is not identical with the church or limited to the organized activities of churches. It includes all secular life, and all that goes to make up civilization. The mission of the gospel is to transform the world, through the agency of men. In their week-day work Christian men are to be practical redeemers. It is useless for them to pray, *Thy kingdom come*, while their business life is governed by non-Christian principles.

In its whole organic life the town has a work to do in solving the problem. Of a better maintenance of order and law during the period of a strike, something has already been said. A vigorous public sentiment is needed, intelligent, discriminating, righteous, out-spoken, bringing its pressure to bear upon all questions of industrial or public policy. Many parents and, in some cases, mill officers attempt to evade the law respecting the education of children employed by manufacturing corporations. The town must thoroughly enforce the law. If separate schools are provided for mill children, girls should be taught to sew. Many will not learn at home, for their mothers cannot teach them. Teaching is greatly needed respecting the principles of household administration, especially as regards economy, sanitary requirements, neatness, tastefulness, the ideal home. These matters can rarely come into a school curriculum, but earnest and efficient teachers can implant many ideas, orally and incidentally. If some elements of industrial education could be included in the school work for boys, there would be great gain. Greatest of all educational needs in the town is the need of purifying school administration from the

corrupting influence of party and local politics. On account of the increasing control of subtle political influences in the election of school committees, our system of education is in danger of becoming a reproach. Nominations are planned by intriguers in a back office, and good citizens, who ought to do better, obediently vote for the nominees. Public education should be kept out of all connection with politics; but in fact it is becoming an element of political corruption.

The production of hereditary pauperism is an increasing evil. There may be extreme poverty with no trace of pauperism. The pauper is a demoralized person, indolent, thriftless, content with degradation, in the end preferring to live by the labor of others. In many cases he differs from the criminal chiefly in having less energy of will and habit. He resorts to lying, servility, and various forms of imposition rather than to violence; he trades upon the shabbiness and wretchedness that he cherishes. Certain classes of the ignorant poor, who lack energy and have vicious inclinations, easily become paupers. Anything tends to make them such which encourages them to live in dependence. Therefore the provision for "out-door help," by public taxation, is a provision for the manufacture of pauperism. A thoroughly organized and sharply discriminating system of private charity would be better. Actual destitution constitutes a "right" to relief. No matter what the cause may have been — intemperance, wastefulness, a long strike, during which savings were consumed — the need becomes urgent, perhaps in mid-winter, and relief is given. The recipient will be less solicitous to keep out of need hereafter; he has right to relief; he is fairly on the way to pauperism. The laws respecting intemperance and petty crime often tend to develop pauperism in a whole family. The penalty is a fine; the loss falls chiefly on the family. Or the penalty is imprisonment; for three or six months the family is deprived of the wages of its head. He is living in greater comfort than he ever enjoys when at liberty; and the family is becoming accustomed to depend upon "relief." One is tempted to think that the restoration of the whipping-post for such offenses might be an improvement. Flogging in seclusion would not demoralize the public, and could scarcely demoralize the criminal. His cuticle is his own; the penalty would come upon none but himself; repetition of it would not seem desirable to him; his time would speedily be at the service of his family.

Towns have to deal with the temperance question. If mills



would require their workmen to become temperate, the question would be easy of settlement; for, after a time, the majority of mill voters would be on the side of temperance. Coffee and lunch rooms have been proposed as a means of driving liquor-sellers out of business. But those who are accustomed to their liquors will not readily prefer the coffee. To be of much service, coffee-rooms should be numerous, and as widely scattered as the liquor-saloons. Then, if the majority of saloons could be closed by high license, no license, or by stringent limitation in number, coffee-rooms might succeed in effecting a change of habit and taste.

The thorough Americanizing of factory communities is a work of time, requiring a coöperation of all the best influences. There are many persons whose interests are involved in the maintenance of race distinctions and class alienations. They are politicians who seek advancement by setting the interests of one class or nationality in seeming antagonism to those of another. They are the social leaders, newspapers, tradesmen and others whose position or profit is supposed to be promoted by recognizing and maintaining the distinctions. All such recognition and perpetuation in society, in business, or in politics should be frowned upon. We are here to be Americans, and for us all the welfare of the future depends upon a substantial unity of spirit, and unity in the type of civilization.

One effective mode of securing such a unity, and securing social development at the same time, is by social intercourse. Intercourse based on congeniality, on similarity of culture, taste, and position, is well in its place. But, besides this, every member of the more favored classes of society owes a debt to the less favored. "The head cannot say to the feet, I have no need of you." No nationality or class has a monopoly of the virtues. The intercourse which is based simply on human worthiness, which is not patronizing, but a fellowship of kindness, frankness, and heartiness, will be found profitable to all classes, and perhaps not least so to the so-called higher class. Culture has its harmful narrowness as well as ignorance; class narrowness is as harmful to one class as to another. For the social intercourse of mill-workers with other classes of society, some adjustment to the requirements of their life is needful, but it can be made. The privileges thus enjoyed stimulate aspiration and endeavor for varied improvement. Precisely such aspiration and endeavor are most needed, and without them transformation is impossible.

Castes which were established in industrial life have been main-

tained in social and religious life. Workmen have absented themselves from churches because employers, who held their workmen at a distance, have frequented and supported the churches. For the same reason the churches, as organizations, have been supposed to be in sympathy with the caste spirit of industrial life. Commonly the facts have been just the reverse, but perhaps the facts were not made sufficiently evident. A church which does not keep itself free from contamination by these and other unchristian tempers of secular life, or which does not make its freedom from them evident, cannot expect to preserve its power for evangelization. The pulpit has few more important duties than the proclamation of Christian requirement respecting week-day piety. The teachings of Old Testament and New are very plain; the pulpit must emphasize them. Sometimes only the faithfulness of the pulpit can save the Christianity of the churches from the reputation of perverting the gospel.

When Christian men conduct their business on Christian principles the work of evangelization by the church will be comparatively easy. The power of the gospel will be felt everywhere and always. There will then be everywhere a predisposition in favor of it instead of against it. And practically the predisposition determines the whole result. Where that exists the church will not be neglected by wage-workers more than by any other class. For those who attend church it will only be needful that the gospel be preached, not chiefly as an other-world gospel, nor as the method of a one-sided spirituality in this world, nor chiefly in its scholastic forms, but in its practical form as a salvation from sin and all its evil results here and hereafter. For the best religious effect, however, a full half-holiday on Saturday is desirable — for various domestic occupations, for some needed out-door recreation, for a little variety in life, and for adequate rest in preparation for worship.

For mill-workers who do not attend church, lay preachers have been proposed. It is suggested that they be of the same class with the workmen; sufficiently educated, but not to the extent of getting out of natural sympathy with those whom they would reach; that they live among the mill residences, and work in cottage meetings and from house to house. Mission Sunday-schools have been a common instrumentality for the same purpose. They have their use; it is increasingly plain that they also have their limitations and their abuses. Every church and all Protestant denominations have had such schools. They are held at different

hours, according to the convenience of different churches. The same children often attend several schools. Instead of getting additional benefit, they often get less. They use the teaching in one school as preparation for another, compare one school with another, and hold themselves in the attitude of patrons. If they receive aid on account of poverty, they may conceal the fact of attending other schools, and solicit aid from all. They seldom attend church services, or come in any way under effective and continual church training. The school is an influence for one hour in the week; as pupils approach maturity they drop out. In all details, however, much depends upon the teacher. If a missionary is employed in connection with the school better results may also be expected. Meanwhile the various churches are almost forced into the position of competitors for the scholars, and for church attendance. It will be strange if, on some side, proselytism is not developed and exceeding mischief done. It is easier to make proselytes than to make Christians; but the words of Christ respecting proselyte-making have not yet lost their force.

For aggressive and effective evangelization, there is nothing better than the system of separate fields of church labor long advocated among the Congregational churches of Massachusetts. Let the whole town be divided into fields corresponding to the number of the evangelical churches and to the working force of each. Let each church canvass its field to learn the denominational preferences of the residents. Those who prefer a church other than that which has taken the field are reported to the church of their preference, and then let alone. For all the rest the church taking the field holds itself responsible, and engages faithfully, persistently, and lovingly in the work of their evangelization. All social means are used, literature is employed, aid given to worthy poor as needed. There will be difficulties and failures, but also a rich reward, if there be honest Christian interest and varied helpfulness. There is one general difficulty: the sectarianism and proselyting fervor of some churches may prevent a faithful adherence to the plan.

As regards the Roman Catholic population, it is common testimony that little direct religious influence can be exerted by Protestants. The French are accessible to the Protestant influence of other Frenchmen. Where they are gathered in considerable numbers a French Protestant church is possible, and it will be very helpful in its influence upon all Frenchmen. The more ignorant and superstitious of all nationalities and ages are liable to

be intensely suspicious of anything that can be considered an approach to Protestant religious influence, and they at once recoil from it. With the more intelligent the case is very different, especially if acquaintance ripens into some degree of confidence. There may then often be frank, kindly, and helpful comparison of religious differences. In solving the problem of the manufacturing town, it is not needful to bring all Roman Catholics over to Protestantism any more than it is needful to bring all Protestant denominations into one. It is exceedingly desirable that intelligence and the love of God should displace superstition, that the Scriptures should be more influential than mediæval tradition, that Christ should be more revered than Mary and the saints, and that the attitude of heart toward Him should be considered more important than the form of sacraments. It is needful that allegiance to Rome shall not interfere, and shall not in any wise be allowed to interfere, with entire loyalty to the State, the nation, and to republican institutions. There are many Roman Catholics whose own convictions are expressed in these statements. There is a liberal Catholicism which is increasing, and, with intelligence, will increase. It will have conflicts with bigotry and with human claims of absolute authority in religion. Sometimes it will seem to be in harmony with Protestantism, sometimes in antagonism. But if we resist the intrusion of Rome into politics, if we insist upon a thorough common-school education of all children, and if, in the churches called Protestant, we develop and maintain an intelligent and earnest piety, loyal to the teachings and spirit of Christ, it will not be possible to maintain mediævalism in America.

The problem of the manufacturing town cannot be solved without the help of the operatives. In all endeavors their coöperation is needed for full success. Indeed, in some things they must be and have been leaders. The more intelligent and influential among them have an influence among their fellow operatives which none but they can have. They have a responsibility not second to that of any other class of persons. With persistent earnestness they should endeavor to leaven, to elevate, and purify their own communities. In matters industrial, in society, and especially in politics, they should rise above all class and race partisanship and limitations. Their aid is needed in establishing the law-abiding spirit and the principle of personal liberty in labor, as well as in securing better conditions of life and a better compensation. It is needed in abolishing the principle of uniform pay-

ments to all workmen, good, bad, and indifferent, — the principle which takes away some of the strong motives to human improvement. They must aid in suppressing pauperism and the liquor traffic; in reforming or weeding out unworthy workmen; in elevating home life; in promoting general social intercourse and improvement. Especially must they give their hearty sympathy and their earnest coöperation in every endeavor to secure moral and religious elevation, so that it may come to be true, as it ought to be, that a community characterized by its continual and productive industry is also characterized by its superior worth.

*William W. Adams.*

FALL RIVER, MASS.

## EDITORIAL.

## THE QUESTION ONCE MORE—WHAT IT IS NOT AND WHAT IT IS.

It is becoming customary to ask candidates for ordination or installation such questions as these, bearing upon the immediateness and urgency of the claims of the gospel: Do you believe in urging upon men the immediate acceptance of the gospel? Would you say to them, *Now* is the accepted time, *now* is the day of salvation? Would you refuse to offer any hope to those who in this life reject Christ? And if the answers to these questions are promptly and emphatically in the affirmative, the attempt is made to create an impression that the candidate cannot be in sympathy with the New Theology.

Let it then be understood once for all that the advocates of the New Theology have but one answer to give to these questions, and that the most positive and emphatic. In fact, these questions with their affirmative answer belong peculiarly to the New Theology. For they all presuppose the *preaching of the gospel*. Why is *now* the accepted time, — why is *now* the day of salvation? Because of the knowledge of the gospel. Imagine a missionary going among the heathen and *without first proclaiming the gospel* saying to them, *Now* is the accepted time, *now* is the day of salvation. Words derive their meaning from their connection. The invitations of the gospel and the warnings of the gospel presuppose the gospel.

If it is desired to put a question which will test the attitude of a candidate toward the New Theology, let it take some such form as this: Do you believe in the immediate and universal condemnation of the heathen without the knowledge of Christ; or do you accept the dogma of the decisiveness of the earthly life as applying *equally to the Christian and to the heathen*, and do you propose to make this dogma the motive to missions?

It would seem to be plain enough without argument that it is consistent for one to hold to the absoluteness and universality of Christianity, and at the same time to emphasize its decisiveness and consequent urgency as presented to the individual. It would seem to be plain enough that a minister in a Christian land and before a Christianized congregation should urge the here and the now in respect to salvation, and at the same time refuse to deny to the heathen world the possibility of a future salvation through the knowledge of Christ. In our view there was not only no inconsistency, but a manifest harmony in the positions taken by a candidate before a recent Boston council, who affirmed with great positiveness the urgency of his message to men — "*Now* is the accepted time, *now* is the day of salvation," and who said with equal positiveness, "I do not believe in the unconditional condemnation of the heathen, nor in the



unconditional perdition of any soul who knows not of Christ or of his salvation."

We submit the words above quoted as involving a test question, if one is sought for to determine the attitude of a candidate toward the New Theology.

#### THE INSENSIBILITY OF CERTAIN CLASSES TO MORAL OBLIGATIONS.

WHEN a conflict breaks out between labor and wealth, which is really a conflict between social classes, there is opportunity of learning a variety of lessons. Attention is especially drawn at this time to the habits, ideas, standards, and tendencies of those who engage in manual labor. The present disturbances are giving occasion, which is widely improved, to examine both intelligently and sympathetically the condition of working people. This investigation is likely to go on for some time, and is certain to result in improved social and personal relations between the representatives of labor and capital. The purpose of this paper, however, is to consider the attitude of a social class which is at the farthest remove from the laboring class. Many of those who belong to this so-called upper class are seen, in the lurid light of existing commotions, standing apart, with their backs turned on the masses of their toiling and angered fellow-men, knowing little and caring less about the discontent which threatens revolution, so long as they are undisturbed in the enjoyment of their possessions. The members of this class are characterized by an indifference which in many cases has hardened into actual insensibility to the obligations they sustain to others less favorably situated than themselves. This indifference is not equally advanced with all. It is incipient, growing, conscious, deliberate, as the case may be. When we speak of a certain class which is thus indifferent we do not mean that it is easy to recognize all such as properly belong to it. The inner nucleus is clearly distinguishable, while farther out the lines become indistinct, till one class merges into another. Indeed, no social class has an external organization, with rules and by-laws, but it is held together by affinities, tastes, customs, common pursuits and interests. Every one, also, belongs to several classes, if he is classified according to all his relations. But for practical purposes, the moral apathy we have in view is found within a social stratum which is tolerably well defined, while in many instances this insensibility to ordinary moral obligations is so conspicuous that it amounts to a distinct social differentiation.

An article in a recent number of the "London Spectator" on the "Future of Society" is chiefly occupied with the inquiry whether it may be expected that "society" will have in the future as little regard for moral obligations as it has had in the past. The writer describes the large but limited circle which surrounds the centre of power in European countries, which claims for itself most of the enjoyments of life, and se-

cures them, which is always frivolous, always attentive to ceremony, always more or less vicious, always seeking distraction, always independent of ordinary moral standards. He observes that religious revivals have only touched it for a moment, that misfortunes have never sobered it, and that the progress of intelligence has but made its amusements a little more varied. He thinks that in some respects it is growing worse, for it is more skeptical, more cynical, more disregardful of public criticism, more cosmopolitan in range, and therefore less sensitive to local and national opinion. It is, he thinks, a bad sign that in some circles in France, and in the best circles in America, it has become good form to be of "society," and bad form to be of politics, whereby "society" gains a temporary reinvigoration, but is really absorbing men and women too good for it, and waxing fat on wasted brains. Growing pessimistic thought doubts whether in a world like this the individual *can* do anything worth doing except ransack earth for dainties, curios, and beautiful objects. Under all this is the feeling that "society" is a privileged class not to be held amenable to the simple, tame standards of every-day morality, and in no danger hereafter, if there be a hereafter, of harsh treatment. According to the saying of a French marquis, "God will think twice before he damns a man of that quality."

We have appropriated thus much of the "Spectator's" article because it admirably describes a well-known and extremely influential class in Europe, which is not without its counterpart here. Human nature is the same all the world over, and under the same conditions exhibits the same characteristics and conduct. Where there is a class living in luxury there is danger of self-absorption and moral hardening. Those who have influence or favor at their disposal will be indulged, even to the toleration of vice, until they believe themselves superior to the laws which are recognized by others. Abroad, where pedigree is more than wealth, many of them are poor, always wanting money, managing in some way to get it, and then to waste it. Here nearly all of the luxurious class are secured by the actual possession of wealth or by such association with wealth as practically provides a life of elegant comfort. To drop out of competence is usually to drop out of "society."

Now, the disposition to lower all moral standards creates indifference to those who are in the so-called middle and lower classes. It deadens sense of social obligation. It is, indeed, the suspicion of this indifference which embitters the feeling of those who from their places of toil witness displays of luxury. "He *cares* nothing for me," mutters the working-man, as the millionaire rolls by in his carriage. This apathy will not be disturbed unless self-interest is in danger. The social indifferentist will cease to be indifferent only if continued apathy makes property insecure. Then he would interest himself to ameliorate the condition, and even to win the confidence of the working-classes, for the same reason that he would stir himself to introduce improved machinery, or to abate the tariff on certain materials of production; for the same reason that a politician

ingratiates himself with voters. At present it is not believed by those who live in luxury that the necessity exists. They think capital is secure as having greater power and keener intelligence than labor. When an outbreak occurs they are perfectly confident of the issue. They do not for a moment entertain the idea that the wild demands of labor will be acceded to. There may be temporary inconvenience, so that the quarter's earnings of railroads and corporations will not make the usual showing, but beyond that there will be no serious consequences. The pressure of necessity will drive men back to work. Law, and public sentiment behind law, will suppress disorder. Supply and demand may be trusted to regulate the price and hours of labor. It may be necessary, more's the pity, to call out the militia and order a brisk discharge of firearms, but a little heroic treatment of that sort will make an end. Therefore they remain apathetic. In fact they are harder than ever towards laborers when strikes and riots are frequent, muttering contemptuously, if not profanely, about the stupidity of the short-sighted fools, and voting the whole commotion an infernal bore, which they wish might never again be mentioned in their hearing.

There is no doubt at all what methods should be adopted when violent outbreaks occur. The arm of law must suppress all unlawful acts. Temporizings and concessions are the folly of weakness. When the discontent of labor resorts to violence and crime the course to be taken is unmistakable. Nor can it be disputed that the demands of labor are often unjust, the methods of protest unwise, the interference with fellow-workmen despotic. To lawbreakers place should be given by subjection, no, not for an hour. The very delay of law becomes criminal. But because disease demands heroic remedies all is not done when it has been treated heroically. Measures must be taken to prevent disease. Preventives are proverbially worth at least sixteen times as much as remedies. The social indifferentist should have been interesting himself in the conditions of labor, its rightful claims, the health and homes of laborers, the moral and religious influences which are needed. Is it right to wait for the militia and the bullet? Has not labor some real grievances? Is not the indifference of the prosperous itself a grievance, and does not the consequent neglect let in a train of evils which intelligent interest might have kept out?

It is worth while to recognize some of the immediate causes of insensibility to social obligations in respect to the weak and inferior. The ultimate cause, of course, is the selfishness of human nature. But selfishness conceals itself in circumstances which are thought to be out of the control of individuals.

One cause of apathy is distance. The prosperous and the poor are at a wide remove from each other. The rich and the poor may meet together, even in the house of the Lord, and yet be hemispheres apart; so far apart that they need to be reminded of what has been forgotten from the wise man's time till now, that the Lord is the maker of them all. One

who is familiar with the corners and slums of London remarks that the people who drive in fine carriages up and down Regent Street have no conception of the human wretchedness and iniquity which are only two blocks away. In the stillness of the night a loud call could easily be heard at that distance. A boy could throw a stone from the place of luxury to the place of misery. But social distance is not measured by rods. The sidewalk beggar into whose hand a gentleman tosses sixpence lives in another world, which his benefactor cannot reach on horseback nor by railway. A series of impalpable somethings keeps classes apart. If contact or concussion seems to occur, there are enough cushions between to absorb the shock, so that scarcely a jar is felt. One is enveloped in selfish habits which are close about him, and in social customs outside his selfishness, which make him insensible to the chill of poverty as it goes shivering by. The electric current with which a wire is charged is at any point nearer to the distant office than to the rough pole that holds the wire up. Indeed, the whole wire has no distance. Every point is close upon every other point. But a slender cylinder of glass keeps the current at an absolute distance from the pole and the ground. The luxurious class may be brought as near in space as you please to the toiling class, but if there is *insulation* the distance is immeasurable. Contact is not communication. A Christian merchant in Boston may be nearer to a missionary in Ceylon than to his neighbor across the street. Now, very many of the non-conductors which insulate the luxurious class are artificial. They do not belong to human nature. After allowing for all differences of refinement, knowledge, character, which are natural and legitimate, custom and self-absorption have created other barriers which are unnecessary, and which divert sympathy from those natural channels that make the whole world kin.

Another cause of insensibility to social obligation is the establishment of a code of morals which covers relations within but not without the class to which one belongs. By force of circumstances some find themselves in a social world not of their making. Within that world not all are vicious. Many are full of kindness to the point of self-sacrifice towards their equals. The Christian spirit is not absent. Some are very intent on saving their souls, and are, therefore, punctilious in the practice of religious observances, correct in their doctrinal beliefs, and exemplary in their conduct. But they are either ignorant of other classes or indifferent to them. Their morality and piety do not extend to those inferior in the social scale. The greatest teacher of morals considered this restriction to one's own class a serious defect: "For if ye love them that love you what reward have ye? do not even the publicans the same? And if ye salute your brethren only what do ye more than others? do not even the Gentiles the same?" The Levite and the priest were, doubtless, irreproachable among Levites and priests and influential Jews, but did not have ordinary humanity for a fellow-countryman in his trouble, because he was socially inferior. Kindness which is limited

to one's equals is an altruism which is not easily distinguished from egoism.

Another cause is the fashion which actually prevails of cultivating indifference. Enthusiasm is crude and immature. To show strong feeling is an offense in society. A well-bred person is never surprised. Poise must not be disturbed. The utmost permissible excitement is curiosity concerning one's associates, and a superficial liveliness of conversation. Large talk is not expected. The maxim is "high living and plain thinking." To young men almost everything is an awful bore. A single eyeglass gives a sufficient view of almost any spectacle or person. It is a question whether a youth with a few years' social experience is capable of a high enthusiasm or a strong conviction. To accomplish anything he must give up "society." If one starts out to do honest work in literature, reform, politics, his behavior is looked on as a queer and unaccountable freak. Anything is better than heartiness and naturalness. It will not do to shake hands vigorously, or even cordially. Listlessness is correct form in all one's social duties, with the single exception of eating and drinking. We do not mean to bring a railing accusation against fashionable society, nor to have our illustrations taken with absolute literalness. But indifference is certainly a fashion. Caricature ridicules this tendency, and successful caricature is always near the truth. Indeed, those who have no higher moral purpose than to be leaders or satellites in social entertainments cannot fail to become insensible to the miseries and misfortunes of their fellow-men. Therefore "society" has always been hard-hearted and frivolous, or rather hard-hearted because frivolous. The influence of such a social custom is felt far beyond the class which affects indifference. With such example in high places the numberless aspirants for social position cultivate the same tone. So far as the tendency prevails it is fatal to sympathy for those who are shut up to manual labor.

Self-absorption and limitation of interest to one's own class are characteristic of pre-Christian and pagan civilizations. The gospel is squarely opposed to such narrowing of life. It will not leave people serenely satisfied in their comfortable circumstances, nor will it be content that they practice the virtues within their own limited circle. Christianity stirs us up to the needs of our fellow-men. It sends us out to find them in their ignorance and destitution. We are to go into the highways and hedges and compel them to come in. We are not only to do the duty that is brought to us; we are to find duty. Lost and perishing men, oppressed men, unfortunate men, are all about us, and there is laid upon us the Duty of Search. Christ came to seek and to save those that were lost. He sends us into the world even as the Father sent Him into the world. And his distinct teaching is that superiority of any kind, instead of giving exemption from service, the rather imposes it, and in the measure of the superiority. It should be understood that a social class is undeserving the name of Christian, even when that name is assumed, if it gets out of

sympathy, and stays out of sympathy, with needy, suffering, and, above all, with erring fellow-men. The fact that they are to blame only increases the obligation of those who might enlighten them. Social indifference is paganism.

Existing disturbances are emphasizing the lesson that duty is not discharged when gifts of money are made to relieve the wants of the destitute. To relieve those who are disabled by sickness or who are hopelessly stranded is to touch that which is only incidental. Almsgiving, indeed, must be very judicious in order that it may not foster the very evils it would remove. Actual distress is only a result, and the energy of helpfulness should be directed to causes. All the conditions and circumstances of the laboring-classes demand the patient attention of right-minded men, and especially of those who profess and call themselves Christians. There is a duty to the rank and file of the working population as well as to the sick and wounded. It will not do to treat the workingman as a pauper or as an inferior. His self-respect must not be wounded, but encouraged. What he needs and what he wishes is to be helped in helping himself. The indifference and contempt with which he has too often been treated have had not a little to do with the unreasonableness of his demands.

Also, it is not enough to do good merely from the gains of one's business or from the surplus of his income. The right use of property itself is now the chief responsibility. Those who directly control great business enterprises have a duty towards those who are employed, of which only a small part has been discharged when generous gifts have been made from the profits of business.

The duty of search forbids that one should wait for solicitation. Some who give in considerable amounts never think of giving until they are asked or even pressed. That method of giving is usually grudging, and is an indication of insensibility to obligation. It depends too much on agents and societies to do work which the giver should attend to personally. From anxiety to administer charity judiciously and systematically there results an almost entire absence of personal sympathy. The best that can be said for benevolence which waits to be solicited, and which is administered at second hand, is that it is better than no benevolence at all.

The Christian church and a Christian civilization are never indulged in prolonged periods of repose. In the good providence of God commotions arise to disturb complacency in existing conditions. The church is repeatedly summoned to new conflicts and fresh victories. The methods which were adapted to emergencies of the past prove inadequate for changed circumstances. The belief that our institutions are too firmly established to be threatened, that the point of danger for our civilization has been left behind in distant revolutions, that in this fair, prosperous, intelligent land uninterrupted progress may be expected, is rudely shaken. It is much that we are aware of the seriousness of the task now before



us, and that if at first we are bewildered because the customary methods of ministration prove to be antiquated, we are already discussing and adopting more radical methods. It is always a gain when the church realizes that it has something more to do than to rescue an individual here and there from danger or suffering, and that it must labor to remove causes which produce evils, and to improve those conditions which determine the economical, moral, and religious conditions of the great social body.

Because all cannot be done at once to elevate the masses of our fellow-men, because the wisest experiments can be only partly successful, is no reason for discouragement. In each age of the world the church is to do what it can, even if it only makes the problem easier for the next generation by undoing some of the wrongs which exist. It is something if we can keep bad conditions from becoming worse. Surely, if we make no effort because the task is so enormous, if we allow things to take their course, if we ourselves drift on the current of selfish custom, conditions are sure to become worse in our own time, even to the point of shaking the security of our material possessions. But the motive which should rouse us out of our complacency and indifference is higher than self-interest in any form. It is the motive of the constraining love of Christ, and of the need of our brethren in the world for whom Christ died. If those who need help can be convinced that the more fortunate are not indifferent, but sympathetic, there will be better feeling between social classes. And, after all, friendly Christian relations in place of apathy on one side and bitterness on the other are of greater importance than specific measures of helpfulness. The hard necessities of political economy may not, perhaps cannot, yield, but those necessities lose half their harshness when sympathy and Christian love are apparent in all personal relations.

#### THE PARTICIPATION OF ALUMNI IN THE GOVERNMENT OF COLLEGES.

THE approaching Commencement season finds the interest of the various college communities centring about the discussion of the elective system, and about the question of increased representation on the part of alumni upon the governing boards of the colleges. We defer any editorial reference to the elective system till the discussion of the subject introduced to the readers of the "Review" by Professor Palmer has been completed. To those who are interested in the latter question, the following statement may be of value as showing the actual relations now existing between the alumni of the older New England colleges and the corporations of their respective colleges.

The corporation of Harvard College is known under the legal title of "The President and Fellows of Harvard College." It consists of seven members,—the President, five Fellows, and the Treasurer,—is the custodian of the funds of the college, legislates for the college, responsi-

ble, however, in its acts to the Board of Overseers, and is self-perpetuating. The Board of Overseers was the body in which the government of the college was originally vested. As constituted (1642), it was made up of the "Governor and Deputy Governor, all the magistrates of this jurisdiction, together with the teaching elders of the six next adjoining towns — viz. Cambridge, Watertown, Charlestown, Boston, Roxbury, and Dorchester — and the President of the College." The board proving unwieldy, the corporation, as above described, was formed by charter (1650), the Board of Overseers still remaining in existence, and its consent being necessary to make valid "the orders and by-laws of the Corporation." In 1657 a law was passed by which the acts of the corporation were declared to have immediate force and effect, and to be merely "alterable" by the Overseers, to whom the corporation was to be "responsible." No legislation has since been had affecting the relation between the two boards. The composition of the Board of Overseers has, however, been frequently changed by legislation, according to the changing conditions of the State and of the churches, until, by act of 1865, the board was entirely separated from connection with the State and with the churches, and given over into the hands of the alumni. As now constituted, the Board of Overseers consists of thirty members beside the President and Treasurer of the corporation, each member serving for six years, and eligible for one immediate reelection, and to be chosen by the alumni under the following restrictions: No member of the corporation and no officer in the government or instruction of the college is entitled to vote, nor any graduate before the fifth annual election after the graduation of his class, and the vote must be by ballot and in person, on Commencement Day, at some place designated by the Board of Overseers, in the city of Cambridge.

Bowdoin College is under the administration of two boards, known as "The President and Trustees of Bowdoin College," and "The Overseers of Bowdoin College." The two boards were constituted at the same time (1794), and each is self-perpetuating. The Board of Trustees is the originating and active part of the corporation. The Board of Overseers is termed in the charter a "supervising body," created "the more effectually to provide for the regular government of the college and for the prudent administration of the funds belonging to it." At a meeting of the alumni held at the Commencement of 1871, a communication was received from the Board of Overseers requesting the alumni to nominate candidates for one half of the vacancies then existing upon the board, and also inviting suggestions in relation to the "subject-matter" of the request. The offer of the board in respect to *nominations* was formally accepted, and the legal question as to the change necessary to the direct election of members of the Board of Overseers by the alumni was referred to a committee, who reported, the next year, "that any change in the mode of electing members of the Board of Overseers of Bowdoin College can be accomplished only by the concurrent action of the Board of

President and Trustees, of the Board of Overseers, and of the Legislatures of Massachusetts and Maine." In 1884 a bill was presented to be proposed to the Legislatures of Maine and Massachusetts "for such a change of the charter as would allow the Alumni to elect the Overseers." It is understood that this "bill" is still under discussion among the alumni, and that meanwhile the custom, inaugurated in 1871, of nominating a candidate for each alternate vacancy, now obtains with the alumni. The board is not legally bound to ratify the nomination, but in all cases thus far the nominations have been accepted.

The corporation of Brown University likewise consists of two boards, — the Fellows, and the Trustees, — though the action of the two boards more nearly resembles that of a joint committee. They meet at the same time and place, and together elect members to fill the vacancies in either board. The election of members is somewhat complicated by the ecclesiastical relations of the corporation. By the charter it is required that a majority of each board shall be of the Baptist denomination, the remainder (upon the Board of Trustees) to be divided, according to a fixed proportion, between the Quakers, Congregationalists, and Episcopalians. This proportion must be observed in the filling of vacancies. The boards are self-perpetuating. But an arrangement was made some years since by which the alumni can nominate candidates for vacancies in the Board of Trustees, according to the following method: —

"When a vacancy occurs several names are suggested by the Secretary of the 'Advisory Committee of the Alumni,' and the two or three names that are recommended, each by fifteen Alumni, are sent to all the Alumni whose addresses are known, and they vote according to their preferences. The Corporation, both Boards, voting in the election, then elects one from the several candidates if they so please. Most frequently they choose the one having the largest number of votes, but not always. For good and sufficient reasons, they may choose one not nominated."

We pass to the colleges administered through a single board.

The charter of Yale College (1701) vested the power of administration in a body to be known as Trustees, or Partners, or Undertakers, "not exceeding the number of eleven; provided also that persons nominated or associated from time to time to fill up said number be ministers of the gospel inhabiting within the colony and above the age of forty (afterwards reduced to thirty), or the major part of them." In 1792, in consideration of a grant from the State of Connecticut, the charter was so amended as to provide that "the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and six senior assistants in the Council of this State" — afterwards changed to six senior senators — "for the time being shall ever hereafter, by virtue of their said offices, be Trustees or Fellows of said College." The Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of the State are still *ex-officio* members of the board, but by act of the Legislature — 1871, amended 1872 — the places of the six senior senators were to be filled from the graduates of the college, and to be chosen by the alumni: —

"The Fellows thus elected shall enroll themselves by lot in six classes, one holding the office for six years, another for five years, another for four years, another for three years, another for two years, another for one year, eligible for reelection; and every year, as a vacancy occurs, all graduates of the first degree, of five or more years standing in any of the departments of Yale College, and all persons who have been admitted to any degree higher than the first in Yale College, whether honorary or in course, may, upon the day preceding Commencement Day, in the manner heretofore prescribed [the election is by ballot, not necessarily in person], elect by a plurality of votes a person to fill the vacancy and hold the office of Fellow, for a period of six years eligible for reelection."

Dartmouth College narrowly escaped the anomaly of having a foreign board acting in connection with its Board of Trustees in the administration of its affairs, as may be seen by the extract from the following letter (June 7, 1769) from Doctor Wheelock to Governor Wentworth:—

"I have been making some attempt to form a charter in which some proper respect may be shown to those generous benefactors in England, who have condescended to patronize this school, and I want to be informed whether you think it consistent to make the Trust in England a distinct corporation, with power to hold real estate, &c. for the uses and purposes of this school."

And later (March 12, 1770), writing to Lord Dartmouth, Doctor—now President—Wheelock, says—

"Gov. Wentworth thought best to reject that clause in my draught of the charter which gave the Honorable Trust in England equal power with the Trustees here to nominate and appoint the president, apprehending it would make the body too unwieldy, but he cheerfully consented that I should express my gratitude and duty to your Lordship by christening after your name."

The charter, as granted, conferred the power in perpetuity upon a Board of Trustees, never to exceed twelve, eight of the number to be resident in New Hampshire, and seven of the number to be laymen. And the control of the college by the Trustees as against the interference of the State was confirmed by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the "Dartmouth College Case." By an arrangement between the Board of Trustees and the Alumni Association (1876) nominations were to be received for the next three vacancies upon the board,—four for each vacancy,—it being understood "that ordinarily, and in all probability invariably, some one of the persons nominated will be elected to the vacant place; and, also, that whenever any of the places so filled shall become vacant by death or otherwise, it shall be refilled in the manner aforesaid." Three of those now serving upon the board were elected according to this plan of nomination. At the last Commencement a committee was appointed by the Alumni Association to give the matter farther consideration.

The charter of Amherst College (1825) confers upon the corporation the right to perpetuate itself, together with the privileges usually granted to the Trustees of such institutions. It provides that the number of

Trustees shall never be greater than seventeen, seven of whom shall be clergymen and ten laymen, and that the five vacancies first occurring shall thenceforward be filled by the joint ballots of the Legislature of Massachusetts, in convocation of both Houses. This provision was maintained until the Act of 1874, which conferred this power upon the alumni. The five Trustees elected by the alumni serve each for five years, and may be reëlected, but are then ineligible for reëlection till five years have intervened. Each alumnus of four years' standing may nominate three eligible persons for a given vacancy, the nominations to be sent to the inspectors of elections, before the 15th of May preceding the election. The three persons receiving the highest number of votes are regarded as the nominees of the Alumni Association, and whoever receives the highest number of ballots — or votes sent in before the date of election, over the signature of the voter — is declared elected a Trustee.

The Board of Trustees of Williams College consists of seventeen members, and is self-perpetuating. In 1868 the endeavor was made to raise ten scholarships of twenty-five hundred dollars each among the alumni, and in return for this expression of interest on the part of the alumni, it was proposed that five places on the board should be made subject to their nomination. Accordingly five members of the board resigned, and their places were filled by the nomination of the alumni, though in one or two instances the same persons were re-chosen. The plan then introduced is still in force, each Trustee nominated by the alumni serving for five years, and being eligible for reëlection. It will be understood that this arrangement is by a special contract between the Trustees and alumni, and not by an amendment to the charter.

The corporation of Middlebury College, consisting of the President and Fellows, is not limited in number, but is self-perpetuating. In 1879 the corporation passed the following resolution : —

"Resolved, That the graduates of the college, and all persons admitted by her to the Master of Arts or to any high degree, shall be asked by this body to name three candidates, at every alternate appointment, to the office of Fellow of the College, from which candidates one may be chosen by us to that office."

Under the action of this resolution nearly one half of the active members of the Board of Fellows have been nominated by the alumni.

The University of Vermont, by an arrangement recently made between the corporation and alumni, allows the *nomination* by the alumni to each alternate vacancy upon the Board of Trustees. In all cases Trustees hold offices permanently, vacancies being created only by death or resignation.

From the foregoing statement it will be seen : —

(1) That no college is really under the control of its alumni. Where there are two boards of government, it is the advisory, not the originating and deciding board, which is chosen by the alumni; and where there is but one board, a considerable majority of Trustees in each case belongs to the self-perpetuating class.

(2) That the colleges which have direct alumni representation upon their boards of trust have gained this representation through the surrender by the State of certain chartered rights in the corporation. No charter has as yet been amended to introduce directly a new element into self-perpetuating boards. The incoming of alumni representation has come about through the transfer of State representation upon these boards to the alumni. The endeavor to introduce representation through *nomination* is only a pleasant fiction. It is chiefly an exercise in college politics, in which, in some colleges, secret society men take the leading part. And the method is liable at any moment to produce most unhappy feeling, as might be the case if a board of trust should deny a nomination, or, worse yet, if it should be called upon to decide between rival candidates in a heated contest.

Two or three considerations have forced themselves upon us in the investigation of the question through the facts which we have now presented.

One is that much of the criticism which the discussion has provoked is not only ungenerous but unintelligent and untrue. It is said, on the one hand, that alumni have no rights in a college, — they are simply its beneficiaries; one of those half-truths which is smaller than a falsehood. What constitutes the wealth of a college? Reputation is as much a part of its capital as money. It is the reputation of the alumni of a college which puts the money of its founders to usury, giving it a constant and rapid increment. The personal character, the public influence, the loyalty and enthusiasm of its alumni belong to the earnings of a college quite as much as the interest on its endowments, and any claim on their part to a more formal recognition is not to be dismissed with a curt reminder of their pecuniary obligations to the college. On the other hand, the governing boards of colleges are often referred to in undisguised contempt because they are not made up from the most conspicuous names among the alumni. But a governing board is not a repository for the fame of a college. The most famous graduates may be, and usually are, unfitted by their absorption in other interests for careful and devoted attention to the interests of their alma mater. Neither is a governing board a body of experts. If it were it would be a body of meddlers. The requisites for membership upon boards of trust are breadth and fairness of view, integrity, tact, fidelity, an appreciation of the rights and responsibilities of others concerned in the management of the college, and firmness in the maintenance of their own rights and obligations. Boards of trust are often criticised for their conservatism. Doubtless the criticism is sometimes a just one; but it must be remembered that they do not represent the aggressive, originating, inventive element in college administration. As we shall have occasion to note, we must look elsewhere for this element.

Another consideration is that each college has its own problem to work out in adjusting its boards of administration to the growing influence and power of its alumni. There is a radical difference between those col-



leges having two governing boards and those having but one. A second and *advisory* board falls naturally into the hands of the alumni. The local relations, also, of alumni to their colleges vary greatly. Harvard College, for example, on account of the proportion of its resident alumni, is able to demand a vote in *person* for candidates for the Board of Overseers. This condition greatly simplifies the election. And in some cases it would mean much more than in others, to disturb the charter of a college through an appeal to the State. Traditions may have become sacred, or precedents may have been established which would necessitate unusual reasons for a change. The "Dartmouth College Case" is an illustration of the power of a legal decision to perpetuate itself in a sentiment.

There is still another consideration which seriously affects the question before us, coming in from the side of the Faculty of a college. The demand for representation upon boards of trust usually comes from the younger alumni of a college and is urged in the assumed interest of progress. But the progressive force in the development of a college is a strong and united Faculty. And the relative growth of Faculties in their influence upon the policy of colleges is a large factor in the present situation. From the nature of the case, all schemes for the internal development and educational advance of a college must originate with the President and Faculty rather with the President and Trustees. Trustees can modify plans, adjust differences, and, if necessary, exercise their absolute veto power, but they are seldom competent to originate. They are not experts. They are not educators. They are custodians of funds, the responsible agents of the corporators, the personal, if not official, representatives of the alumni, and the general managers of the college. Let the different functions of the Faculties and boards of trust in colleges be fully recognized and honored, and the question of alumni representation in the government of the college becomes an entirely secondary issue. Naturally the majority of the Trustees and of the Faculty of a given college will be from its alumni. It is reasonable to suppose that if the two boards understand their respective functions and act together for the college, its progress will be such as to satisfy the most enthusiastic and the most exacting of its alumni.

---

## THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

---

### A GENERAL VIEW OF MISSIONS.

#### II. INDIA.

THE present number begins upon Protestant missions in India. As India is rather a continent than a country, with its 1,900 miles of greatest length either way, its 240,000,000 of people (just twice Merivale's estimate for the Roman Empire at its height), and its multitude of various

rac<sup>es</sup> (exclusive of Farther India and Ceylon), it seems best, instead of following the operations of each society throughout the peninsula separately, to take each Presidency separately, and some of the native states, laying this, however, only as a general foundation, so far as it may conduce to distinctness of impression. This geographical division has also an ethnological propriety, as the Aryan Hindus are mass<sup>ed</sup> chiefly in the Bengal and Bombay Presidencies and the Mahratta country, and the great Dravidian race in the Madras Presidency. The Tibeto-Burman stocks of the northeast, and the hill races generally, may require to be separated from either. An over-anxious demarkation will not be attempted, and, indeed, would hardly correspond to the rather vague knowledge of both reporter and readers. And of the many laborers in India, it is not by any means all whose labors we are likely to have occasion to notice, as we are not cataloguing, but only selecting. There may be any amount of quiet and most effective work going on, which, nevertheless, offers nothing likely to make a distinct impression in a condensed account. Under the steady sceptre of the Christian empress things are moving with a more even course than in the agitated and hardly less multiform Turkish world.

We ask indulgence beforehand for all dislocations of missionary stations from their proper locality. We will do the best we can with the accessible means of information. Fortunately, the spiritual are more important than the geographical facts.

1. NORTHERN AND EASTERN INDIA. — The Mohammedan community has been greatly stirred by the conversion to Christianity, in Calcutta, of Abdul Haqq, one of their foremost *moulvies*, or preachers. First a Brahman, then a Moslem, he has now found his true rest in the gospel. — A writer in the "Chronicle" of the London Missionary Society remarks: "There are signs that the Indian Church will break away from our Western denominationalism, and develop into a new and, let us hope, nobler form of Christianity." Another writer expresses it thus: "Evidently India is going to formulate Christian truth for herself, and will work on her own lines a form of church life." — Mention is made in the "Chronicle" of the Rev. M. N. Bose, B. A., B. L., a Hindu missionary to Hindus. Having given up £300 a year for £150, to keep a good conscience, he has since given up a third of the lesser sum, and with it a professorship of English, that he might give himself to gospel work, in which he is bringing many Hindus to Christ. His modest support comes from friends, mostly relatives. — The "Chronicle" reports the recent baptism of two Brahmans, one in the south. One became a Christian from hearing the gospel preached in the street; the other, from the slow ripening of early Christian teachings. — The "Chronicle" for May, 1885, gives the figures ascertained at the end of 1881, by which it appeared that of native Protestants in India there were 417,372, of whom 113,315 were communicants, 461 ordained natives, 2,488 lay preachers or catechists. The most remarkable and encouraging fact was the increase in the rate of progress through the last three decades. This from 1851 to 1861 was about 53 per cent.; from 1861 to 1871 it rose to 61 per cent.; from 1871 to 1881, to 86 per cent. Yet, even to-day, the Protestant ministers of India are hardly more numerous, relatively, than three men would be for the whole of Wales. — In the "Church Missionary Intelligencer," for February, 1885, there is an article by W. Mackworth Young, secretary to the government of the Punjab, in which he reviews the varying policies of

the British authorities in India towards the extension of Christianity. He sums them up thus :—

"There was a time when the state was actually fostering by its action heathen institutions ; and on the other hand, many of those who were responsible for the government of the country desired nothing more than its evangelization. By degrees the reproach involved in the former has been, at all events to a very large extent, removed ; while missionary effort has now free scope throughout the length and breadth of the land. Notwithstanding the professed neutrality of the government, its measures have resulted in an uprooting of heathenism among the educated classes, and the abolition of the most revolting ceremonies of Hinduism among all classes. Finally, the Christianity of the government and of the nation has been asserted, while the right to use the power of the state to impose it has been disclaimed. . . . But while I maintain that the British government has done as much as it is practicable for a human government under such untoward circumstances to do, I dare not say that the members of the government in their individual capacity have done all that their government allowed them, or all that their conscience should have impelled them to do, in commending the doctrine of Christ our Saviour to all men. Ah ! if all Englishmen in India lived the religion they profess there would be many more native Christians. 'All the country would be Christian,' said a native, not himself a Christian, 'if all your Christians were like Donald MacLeod.'"

— The "Intelligencer" gives an account of the baptism of Abdul Haqq, the converted Moslem *moulvie*, mentioned above. The life of Abdul had been attempted, which gave occasion to the Church missionary who baptized him to admonish him that, certain to incur loss, he might incur more than loss, and that, therefore, before receiving the sign of the cross, he should consider whether he was ready to follow St. Stephen, and the Son of man, to the end. He then baptized him by immersion in a tank, giving him the new name of Paulus, prefixed to his former ones, — "the whole scene, with its Eastern surroundings, reminding us very forcibly of the Baptist at the Jordan." Christians of all denominations lent the sympathy of their presence, and the concluding prayer was offered by our countryman, Dr. Thoburn, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. "The crowd of sympathizing Christians who stood around the Maulvie were gathered in, many of them, from various castes. Here stands a high-born Brahmin pundit of great learning. . . . There are some lately among the most degraded Chamar castes . . . owning a common brotherhood under one precious Saviour." — The "Epiphany," a Calcutta Church paper for educated Hindus, says of the Rev. Mr. Bomwetsch's forthcoming Bengali translation of the New Testament: "It is said to be so clear that Bengali children love it, and so idiomatic that Bengali men and women prefer it to their English Bibles, whereas the reverse is now the case." — The "Intelligencer," following the lead of some of the Indian bishops, begins to consider the advisableness of promoting the freer development of native Christianity by appointing ultimately a native episcopate. The late Sir Bartle Frere observed that the elder missionaries had the least hesitation in recommending "an immediate attempt to provide the whole machinery and organization of a native Church from native elements." — May 11, 1855, an eminent Church clergyman died in Calcutta, the Rev. Krishna Mohan Banerjea. He was a "Kulin Brahmin" of the highest rank, and one of Dr. Duff's first converts. He had been a great leader of Bengal Christianity for half a century. — The "Intelligencer," speaking of the 8,000 or 9,000 Christians in Bengal connected with the Church of England, gives a good idea of their state of dispersion, by stating that they are found in some fifty villages, the largest of which may contain

some 500 or 600 Christians, the smallest, perhaps, a single family of three or four persons. — A recent report, noticed in the "Foreign Missionary," bears hopefully on the extension of effort among the Hindu women. "The intellectual activity of Indian women is very keen, and it frequently lasts longer in life than the mental faculties of the men." — The peculiar difficulty of dealing with Hinduism could not be set forth more clearly than by Professor Kellogg, of Allegheny Seminary, formerly a missionary in India. The following sentences are from the extract in the "Foreign Missionary": —

"To men conscious of sin and apprehensive of a coming retribution, any system will stand commended which minimizes or denies responsibility. This Hinduism does, on the basis of three propositions: namely, that there is no essential distinction between the soul and God; that there is no such thing as free agency; and, consequently, no necessary and permanent distinction between sin and righteousness. Such doctrines cannot indeed heal, but they are most effectual to narcotize the conscience. They dull and ease the acuter pangs of remorse, and deaden the sense of need of a Saviour."

— Rev. Mr. Höppner, of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, reports baptizing at Roorkee a Mohammedan. — The curious way in which a European government, in its own despite, must cut across caste at every turn is illustrated by a complaint of the Brahmans, not that they are compelled to be vaccinated, but that they never know from what arm the vaccine has come! This difficulty might be accommodated, but under English administration such difficulties are always starting up beyond all possibility of paying regard to them. — The Bishop of Lahore energetically combats the proposal to separate English and native Christians into distinct ecclesiastical communities. It does not seem to be a question of caste, but of greater freedom and flexibility of native action. — The "Presbyterian Record" quotes from the "United Presbyterian Mission Record" a painful account of the degradation of a young widow in India. While her husband's body was burning on the pile, two old hags dragged her along to the neighboring lake, where they broke her ornaments from off her arms, some with stones, cut off her lovely black tresses, disrobed her, left her to bathe and to mourn a little while alone, then clothed her in the dark garments of widowhood, and led her back, "to a life of lonely misery and trial, to be looked on as a curse to the household, as the cause of her husband's death, as the butt for all the scoffs and jeers of the whole family." Yet an eminent Liberal of our own commonwealth complacently deprecates the effort to remove the dark root of all this cruelty as a mere effort to render a little more comfortable the condition of barbarians! — The "Presbyterian Record" states that at Kolhapore a son, the only Christian of his family, asked prayer for the rest. Soon a brother was converted and baptized. The Hindus then promised the father that if he would sign a paper declaring the two sons to be dead they would account the rest pure. For answer, the whole family have renounced idolatry. — The "Wesleyan Missionary Notices" reports the baptism of a young Brahman near Calcutta. It created no small commotion in the region round his home. A council of leading men has been held to consider what can be done to obviate the recurrence of so great a calamity. Another Brahman is a candidate for baptism. — At Barrackpore the Rev. J. Brown has baptized a Brahman. — The Rev. E. C. Solomon comments on the difficulty which Christian converts in India find in earning a living. This, he remarks, must long be the case until

Christian influence is consolidated over wider areas. — Mr. Solomon, who is stationed at Benares, writes : "It is, as you know, the centre of Hinduism, densely populated, much visited, religiously and historically famous, but with no trace of anything grand, ennobling, or even beautiful. The stamp of the demon of idolatry is on every street corner, or every house-front. Spiritual serfdom, 'weariness of life,' appear, too, in almost all countenances,—a truly saddening sight." On a special occasion attended by Mr. Solomon, "a handsome, well-built Mussulman thrilled his hearers, as many as understood his Urdu, with the account of his conversion, persecutions, and floggings at home, a father's hardness, and a mother's love. Like the apostle Paul he bore branded on his body the marks of Jesus." — In the "*Missions-Zeitschrift*" for May, 1885, Dr. Warneck expresses himself thus ominously respecting India : —

"India also is included among the lands whose horizon is not free from threatening clouds. Not to speak of Russian schemes of conquest, which now begin to assume a very palpable form, and which diplomatic devices, though they may delay them a little, cannot conjure down, even in India itself, the tension of feeling between rulers and ruled is rising to a more and more critical height. Officials of high standing, well acquainted with the real state of affairs, and as far as possible from being alarmists, are said to be dreading an outbreak, which will throw that of 1857 into the shade. It is beyond dispute that there are many natives disposed to favor a Russian invasion. Whether Russians or natives should take India out of English hands, the result would equally be most calamitous to India."

Dr. Warneck says of the late viceroy : —

"The Catholic viceroy, the Marquis of Ripon, has laid down his office. Besides his general merits, he has won to himself a good name in the history of Indian missions by his decidedly *Christian* tone of conduct. The bitter animosities of race, aroused by his endeavor to extend the jurisdiction of native magistrates by means of the Ilbert Bill, had, however, ruined his popularity with most of the Europeans, and possibly this is one of the reasons of the somewhat unexpected change of viceroys."

— The "*Zeitschrift*," energetically commending the zenana missions, and other similar efforts for India, remarks : —

"That cultivated and enlightened Hindus, even though remaining estranged from Christianity, now desire the education of the women is as well-established a fact as is the joyful reception of the zenana teachers by the inhabitants of the cheerless harems, destitute alike of occupation for the mind and for the hands. Within fifty or sixty years much has been done for the women of India, especially by England, Scotland, and America, but how much more remains to do ! Infanticide of girls, once prevalent, and the suttee, it is true, have both been suppressed. But a weight of misery still rests upon Hindu women. The evil of child marriages, the demoralization of polygamy, the tyrannical and cruel treatment of widows, the seclusion and oppression of the female sex,—which is despised as unclean by birth, as a set of beings that have incurred heavy guilt in a former life,—the terrible ignorance still prevailing among them, so that not one Hindu woman out of two hundred can read and write : these public evils, striking so deep, and involving generations to come, demand well-studied, energetic, widely applied measures of relief. Such services can only be rendered by women."

— In Calcutta, says the "*Zeitschrift*," there begins to be a greater attention than formerly paid to missionary work among natives of European education, whose number in that city is estimated at 30,000. These people have lost their faith in their old gods without having turned to the gospel. Many of them are hostile to it ; but most of them are well dis-



posed for religious conversation. The sermons of such evangelists as Dr. Somerville, George Müller, and others have been numerous attended by members of this class. Lately, the gospel has been brought to them more regularly in congregations gathered in public places, especially the park or garden known as Beadon Square. Every Sunday evening some missionaries resort thither, and gather around them a company of cultivated young men, often as many as three or four hundred. The exercises and addresses are in English, and last, especially on moonlight evenings, — the incomparable moonlight evenings of the tropics, — two or three hours. — The "Chronicle" for April, 1886, speaking of the Theistic movement, says: —

"That eloquent man, the late Keshab Chandra Sen, the great representative of this movement, has said, 'India is already won for Christ.' This may be regarded, as it stands, as a rhetorical exaggeration, in which the orator was carried away into a visionary world. It throws the mind sadly on present facts, and yet hopefully forward on ages to come. Underlying the words is a great and sober truth. The reformer recognized the fact that the name of Jesus is mighty in India, that amid the great changes that are revolutionizing that ancient empire the unseen Spirit of Christ is abroad, leading on the peoples towards the light."

— The same number presents a vivid contrast between a waxing and a waning class of Indian scholars. The former, besides the well-known pundits, includes —

"those higher minds that in *nathas*, or monasteries, still pass a life-time in the study of their sacred books, and who, for their meditation and self-renunciation, are revered as types of the highest sanctity in the eyes of the people. These sages, who unquestionably exert the influence that keeps Hinduism alive to-day, look down with supreme indifference on the rising tide of modern civilization, and are, of course, well-nigh inaccessible to the Christian missionary. They are mainly interesting as relics of the past, whose numbers will necessarily dwindle, while those who yield to the attractions of an *English* education will increase and multiply, . . . will shape the fortunes of the country, and mould the ideas of coming generations. . . . The Christian Church should seek to reach them in such a way that they may not prove a hostile and discontented element, alienated in religious feelings from all that is best in British rule, but that their intelligence, sympathies, and influence may be won to the Christian's side."

— The "Chronicle" says: —

"Some of the most thoughtful observers already believe that India will be one of the great battle-fields of Christianity and unbelief; that the great struggle will not be with Hinduism, old or new, or with Islam, but with Western skepticism, modified and tinged, it may be, with Oriental metaphysics. Such a contest there will undoubtedly be in the more immediate future, but the Hindu nature is surely too deeply religious for atheism to take firm root in the land. And the injury to universal religion would be great, indeed, if India's contribution to the religious thought of the world should be lost, — swept into the pitiless flood of modern infidelity. For the sake of her own enrichment, the Christian Church should view the situation with alarm, and hasten so to interpret the national faith that its best sons may see how it is well worthy of a nobler destiny. And if we believe in a divine reason directing the religious history of the world, Hindus must yet be true to their own instincts; the ideas which their saints and sages have elaborated await a higher development; and the Oriental genius for fervor and emotion must yet find a worthy object. Even now there are signs that contact with Christianity has impressed the best side of the national faith; and that if skepticism is spreading



there is at least a little band of earnest religious reformers, at present working on the national lines, who are doing their best to counteract it. . . . I have seen the hand of the dying Brahman pointing to a text which he had fixed before him on the wall, and in which alone he sought consolation. 'The free gift of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord.' We must be thankful for this growing number of secret disciples."

We wish we could copy the whole of this admirable article.

2. WESTERN AND NORTHWESTERN INDIA. — At the annual meeting of Christians connected with the American Board at Ahmednagar, in October, probably over seven hundred communicants were present. For three years the pastors of all the churches have been supported without any direct contribution from the mission. A class of eleven has been graduated from the theological school. — Mr. and Mrs. Winsor, after an absence of a little more than a year from the Maratha Mission, were received most enthusiastically at Sirur on their return. "A more hearty, happy, or joyous welcome could not be imagined. Besides being met by delegations ten miles out from Sirur, we were joined by others waiting on the road, escorted through the town with the native band, met at the house by the families and the school children, from among whom the boys, with their small flags, came toward us to welcome us, and over the road was an arch erected, and ornamented in true Oriental style. . . . The joy of the people seemed unbounded, and tears of joy would flow such as I have never witnessed before." — The "Church Missionary Gleaner," quoted by the "Missionary Herald," reports four or five notable conversions in India last year from Mohammedanism, and a good many less notable. "The statement so often repeated, that no converts are made from Mohammedanism, is a thing of the past." — Mr. Bruce writes from the Maratha Mission: "The forces of the enemy are most thoroughly organized. The native community is almost a unit in its opposition to Christianity. Caste rule is supreme, so much so that individuality is lost sight of and destroyed." Yet the Annual Report shows 161 received on profession of faith during the year; the whole number of communicants in the Mission being now 1,593, of baptized persons, 2,673. The number of Sunday-schools has risen from 40 to 53, of scholars in them from 1,435 to 1,668. — Mr. Winsor, of Sirur, reports that the people within his district are sobered and made willing to listen by their fear of a famine. Seventy-five or a hundred high-caste Comatis came together by special appointment of their own solicitation to listen to an address by him. "They listened to me intently; and after speaking with them of Him in whom we trust, I said: 'Shall I pray with you?' They said, 'Yes,' and I stood up in their midst. As I prayed they hung like little children upon my words; and, without a suggestion even, all rose at the beginning of my prayer, and stood as devoutly as men ever stood; and there was silence, as if a holy hush had fallen upon them all." — The "Missionary Herald" of last February contains a letter from the Rev. Robert A. Hume, of Ahmednagar, in answer to the strange letter in the "Tribune" of December 2, 1885, impugning the value and success of missions in India. Can we treat as a Christian a writer who derides countless millions of human souls in India as "sticks and stones," in contrast with the lowest of our own race, whom he exalts as "sinners worthy of salvation," and sarcastically asks whether we wish to "crown asses with salvation"? Why not? As it is hard to assign limits to the possible monstrosities in humanity, so it is to the possible

monstrosities in Christianity. Did not the Christian Britons refuse for generations, with acrimonious and contemptuous stubbornness, to undertake any missions among the heathen English who had robbed them of their land, denying the ferocious, drunken barbarians to be "sinners worthy of salvation"? Mr. Hume, we are sure, does not mean to reason with one with whom, humanly speaking, it would be hopeless to argue. He only adduces on the other side such names as Lord Lawrence, Lord Canning, Lord Dufferin, Lord Northbrook, Sir Bartle Frere, Sir William Muir, Sir Richard Temple, — in short, besides other great functionaries, the name of every Indian viceroy from Lord Canning to the present one, — except, perhaps, Lord Lytton, — and leaves us to choose between authorities. — The "Foreign Missionary" remarks: —

"The fact that Lord Ripon has been made a duke in consideration of his distinguished services as Governor-General of India is a proof that the criticisms made by Anglo-Indian residents are not indorsed by the British Home Government. The aim of his administration — to encourage educated natives to seek positions of influence and emolument, on equal terms with Englishmen — must commend itself as not only just, but politic, if India is to be won to confidence and loyalty."

— A great event of the year 1884 (reported in 1885) was the celebration by the Lodian Mission of the Presbyterian church in the United States of its semi-centennial jubilee. Every missionary of the church in India was present, except from Kolhapur. The first *Hindu* baptized at Lodiana, forty-seven years ago, was present, Rev. Goluk Nath. Rev. J. J. Lucas writes: —

"As I walked about the Lodiana Mission compound, with its beautiful school buildings and large church, toward the enlargement of which the native Christians of Lodiana this year gave most liberally, and some of them with real self-denial; when I sat, Sunday morning, and looked at the great company of Christians, addressed in choice words and thoughts by two of their own pastors; when I thought of the hundreds of Christians who during these fifty years have been gathered into our churches, and the hundreds more who have gone up from these churches into glory; when I looked at the noble band of preachers and elders witnessing for Christ in so many cities and towns, and ready to witness for Him unto death, as did some of their brethren in the Mutiny; when I saw the press buildings, facing the church, from which have gone forth millions of copies of the word of God and gospel truth; and then when I thought of that November day, fifty years ago, when Mr. Lowrie rode alone into Lodiana — not a native Christian in the place, and probably not a dozen in the Punjab; not a Christian press within a thousand miles, not a tract in the Punjabi language, and only thirty-nine in both Hindi and Urdu, though spoken by a hundred millions of people; not a school in which the Scriptures were taught; not a missionary among the twenty-two millions of the Punjab — as I contrasted that day with this, I found myself continually saying, 'Behold, what hath God wrought!'"

— In Bombay a hospital for women and children has been opened. It is under the care of female physicians. A Mohammedan furniture-dealer has given nearly \$100,000 to it. — The "Missions-Zeitschrift" for March and April has an interesting account of the establishment of the Church Mission in the Punjab, at the solicitation of the American Presbyterians, with whom the Episcopalians brethren still work in the spirit of true brotherly unity. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Bishop of Lahore refused to sign the somewhat high and lofty encyclical which his fellow-bishops have lately issued to the Christians of India. The headquarters of the Mission are in Amritsar, the most populous city in the

Punjab, numbering 151,896 within the walls. Lahore is called the head of the "land of the five rivers," and Amritsar its heart.

"Here is the central sanctuary of the Sikhs, where, in the midst of the sacred nectar-pond, stands the magnificent temple which guards the holy Granth, built of marble, crowned with one great and many lesser domes, covered with gold, where, as the people say, 'on every day of the year a religious festival is celebrated.' In this citadel of Sikhism Messrs. Clark and Fitzpatrick first established themselves, in the hope of winning the people for the 'final emancipation,' and of teaching them the 'transmigration' into the genuine fatherland."

Around the 645 native Christians of Amritsar and the out-stations (219 communicants) clusters a rich aggregation of beneficent agencies for body, mind, and soul. — The "Church Missionary Intelligencer" makes a suggestive statement, hopeful for the effect of our Saviour's immediate teaching in India: —

"Some persons may be under the impression that when a missionary has mastered the language he can then translate his ordinary sermons into the vernacular, and preach them to the natives. This is a great mistake. The Hindu mind is very different from the European mind; the power they have of taking in the drift of a parable is almost inconceivable to an Englishman. They speak, they write, they think in parables. If you have to explain a parable to them, you must do so by inventing several other parables."

— The Church Missionary Society has decided, if God give the men and means, to occupy Quetta, on the borders of Afghanistan and Beluchistan. —

3. CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN INDIA. — 1884 was the Jubilee year of the Madura Mission. The native pastor at Sevalpatti writes: "More than eighteen persons were admitted to the church on the profession of their faith. More than fifty persons in one village became Christians, and in other villages, here and there, about thirty. Please pray for these new Christians and church-members." — An unwonted experience, under the empress of India, is that of the persecution of Christian worship and preaching by the *maharaja* of Indore. The British authorities hold themselves incompetent to interfere with the religious policy of the native prince towards his own subjects. It is probable, however, that he will eventually find that his sovereign lady has something to say. — The Rev. Geo. H. Gutterston, of the Madura Mission, writes: —

"I asked some villagers recently their idea of the hereafter, and they had never heard that there was a hereafter. Death ends all for them, and the present is useful in so far as it affords means for satisfying hunger, passion, and love of money and power. [Yet] as I write this, the morning sun gleams from the white walls of their great temple three miles away on the mountain side, — a temple built to the god Vishnu. They throng its great festivals and sacrifice to its royally appareled god; they raise the hands in worship to priestly Brahmins who minister in its dark recesses. From this, and other ancient places of worship in this strange land, goes forth an influence felt far and wide among a people who are naturally religious; but their religion is that of fear, not love, and it is powerless to change the heart. Yet as the years pass away our faith is that God's word is here to stay, and that the heaven is working downward through the whole mass."

— Mr. Jones writes from Madura: —

"We long to see more coming out of heathenism, but we have no right to be discouraged while our Christian community is growing rapidly in graces and in numbers. . . . I am satisfied that while our Christian families show their Christian colors in so many ways at home, we need not be afraid about the ul-

timate success of our cause here. . . . I am also impressed with the prosperity of our Christians in the city. None of them are wealthy, and on the other hand very few of them are in want. They are mostly frugal, industrious, enterprising people."

It may be remembered that at the time when the gospel triumphed in the Roman Empire, the strength of the Church lay in just the class of people here described. — The "Missionary Herald" for April, 1885, has a diagram, prepared by Mr. Howland, of the increase of the Madura Mission in fifty years, — from nothing up to twelve thousand adherents, of whom over a quarter are communicants. — The same number contains a letter, written in very respectable English, to some friends in Andover, who had aided Mr. Gutterson in establishing a library and reading-room at Melur. Of the seventeen signers eleven are Brahmans, and only two Christians. The letter speaks with great warmth of the benevolence and helpfulness of the missionaries, and expresses great reverence for America, as second only to England in beneficent influence. — Mr. Washburn writes, respecting the Pasumalai Seminary, that of twenty-three young men whom it had sent up and who had passed the government examination, all but one have continued in missionary employ. This is very encouraging as to their hold upon the pupils for Christian ends. A large percentage of those who have left the lower classes are also in the employ of the Mission. — Rev. J. P. Jones writes from Madura that three of the four gates of that city are protected by Christian churches, and that they have now begun a work near the fourth. — Mr. Noyes writes: "To the forty Christian congregations (the same in number as last year) there have been added one hundred and five new converts within the past six months, and thirteen members have been received to the churches on profession of their faith." — Mr. Chandler, in the "Herald" for last January, gives a condensed description of the Madura Collectorate. The population, it seems, is 2,083,001, about equal to that of Missouri. The area is about that of New Hampshire. Except the 12,000 adherents of the Mission of the American Board there are scarcely any Christians. — Mr. Hazen writes that at Sattirapatty fourteen have been received to the communion, nearly all heads of families, and seven children baptized. These are the first fruits of eighteen years' patient waiting. — Mr. Howland writes that a number of villages (that is, we presume, a number of families in various villages) are solicitous to have Christian teachers sent them. Nearly all are of one caste, and nearly all remotely related to Christians. Thus the leaven spreads. In some villages, however, as Mr. Howland subsequently reports, the heathen employers of those thus desirous of instruction are making them great trouble, and more or less deterring them from giving effect to their good intentions. — Mr. Hazen writes that at Palani the Brahmans and Mohammedans have hitherto held aloof from the schools on account of their Bible lessons. Their boys, however, are very bright and intelligent, the natural leaders of the next generation, and their intellectual cravings have at last overcome their religious prejudices. They are now coming to the schools and studying the Bible daily. — Rev. R. Maplesden, of the Telugu (Baptist) Mission, reports the organization of a church of 128 members at Guraviah Palem. The Telugus, it will be remembered, are that people of Southern India among whom the gospel has wrought so extraordinarily since the great famine, and since their experience during it of Christian beneficence. They are of the great Dravidian

stock, occupying a region extending along the eastern coast far to the north of that within which the kindred Tamil is spoken. The other two cultivated Dravidian dialects are the Malayalam and Kanarese. These aborigines of India (if any but the hill tribes deserve to be so called) have, of course, not originated, but only accepted Brahmanism, partly by conquest and partly by proselytism, and doubtless have contributed their share towards its transmutation into Hinduism. Those who are discouraged that after a century or so of comparatively extended Protestant missions in India there are yet fewer than 500,000 Protestant Christians may take heart in reflecting that after four thousand years' occupation of India by Brahmanism (including its antecedent Vedantic stage) the missionary work of this is not yet complete, but the process of absorption is said to be still going on among the hill tribes, and that on a very large scale. Cannot Christian zeal anticipate it here? The Dravidians, of course, have been thoroughly Brahmanized, but cannot have the same pride of race in their religion as the Aryans, and therefore it is no wonder if the weight of Indian Christianity rests so largely in the Deccan. — Rev. E. Chute writes that at Amerchinta the chief Hindu priest of all the district invited him to preach before his temple, and came subsequently to inquire further. The primitiveness of the Telugu region appears in the mention of kings who reign, one over seventy-five, one over three hundred towns and villages, and who give the missionaries presents of cloth inwrought with gold, and golden flasks of costly ointment. It is amusing to read of what sounds like an explosion of hearty aboriginal wrath from the mother of one of these kings. Her son had given the missionary and his family and helpers one day's provisions; whereupon his mother scolded him well that he had not given them two days' supply; reproaching him that he was niggardly towards "this priest from a far country," when he was always giving to "these dogs of Brahman." No wonder conversions from Hinduism are frequent among the Telugus. Mr. Chute on this month's tour baptized twenty-six, distributed more than fifteen hundred books and Scripture portions and preached the gospel in many villages where he was told that a white person had never been seen before. — The Rev. E. Buillard, of Bapatla, in the "Baptist Missionary Magazine" for January, 1885, gives account of a tour on which he had baptized 150 candidates. — Rev. Geo. Thomssen, of Vinukonda, says, of the work among the Telugus, that two revivals are going on. As to Christianity he says: "We have no trouble in getting converts: the only trouble is to sift them, and to train them." "The most of our converts are babes in understanding, babes in experience, babes in almost everything excepting physical proportions. The sentiment gaining ground is, 'Our state of childhood must go.'" Nevertheless Mr. Thomssen asks any enemy of missions to compare two neighboring Telugu hamlets, one Christian, one heathen, and draw his conclusions. — On the other hand, there is a frightful revival of heathen zeal, such as has not been seen for forty years, evoked by small-pox, cholera, drought, and fire. Bands of devotees roam the country in every direction (all castes, and out-castes, being represented among them) beating tom-toms and blowing horns. The people shout and sing, "Rama, as in former days seventy million monkeys assisted thee, so we come up to thy help." Many dance, and the contortions of their bodies are frightful to behold. The Christians are having a hard time of it, under the power of this fanaticism, which is naturally a persecuting fanaticism. As a



whole, however, they stand firm. — The Rev. J. E. Clough, writing in the "Magazine," March 14, 1885, from Ongole, reports a five weeks' tour, during which he and his helpers baptized 310. — The Rev. J. F. Burdit, writing from Udayagiri, cautions us against supposing this preparedness for the gospel to be universal in the Telugu region. Around Udayagiri, he says, it is hard and stony ground, as barren of Christianity and as full of opposition to it as the heart of Africa could be. "On the southeast, for forty miles, . . . there is not a Christian; and for the same distance south and west there is utter heathenism or atheism, with some Mohammedans, but not a Christian. On the northeast, as we approach the confines of the great Ongole field, the clouds of heathen night lift; and the beams of the Sun of Righteousness shine through the rifts, growing brighter and stronger as you proceed, until whole villages are found rejoicing in the light of his countenance."

(To be continued.)

---

## HISTORICAL CRITICISM — ANCIENT RELIGIONS.

---

### NATIVE WORSHIP IN SOUTH AFRICA — ZULU HADES — DOCTORS OF DIVINATION, AND SPIRITUALISM.

THIS article will have special reference to the Zulus, but it will apply to the Ponda, Tonga, Swazi, Besutu, and other African tribes living south of the Zambezi, Limpopo, and Orange rivers. It is often said, "The natives of South Africa are snake-worshippers." This is not strictly true. "Amatongo" (ancestral spirits) are the objects of their worship. When the body ceases to exist, the "Umoya" (soul or spirit) is supposed to take up its abode in a snake, or to assume the form of this reptile. Some speak of serpents as "representatives" of the spirits. The soul of a king or any distinguished person is represented by the "Imamba," a fierce and venomous serpent, surpassed only by the python in size and length. Common people assume the form of the "Umhlwazi," an innocuous and quiet serpent. In such forms spirits of departed relatives visit the living at their kraals, or villages, appearing to them especially in dreams. "Dreams never lie" is a Zulu proverb, therefore the messages brought by the spirits are always credited. To kill an "Itongo," ancestral spirit, or rather its serpent representative, is a crime to be atoned for immediately lest some dire calamity result. Without shedding of blood there is no remission. Zulus occasionally speak of serpents as messengers or mediators employed by the spirits. When an offering, thank or propitiatory, is made, the serpent is sent to partake of the meat, which is always laid aside for the spirits' use. In vain do we try to convince this superstitious people that it is only in their imagination that the serpent touches the consecrated beef. Immediately after death the graves of Zulu *men* (not of the women, unless they were distinguished) are fenced about, covered with thorns, and closely watched for weeks, sometimes months, lest an "Umtakati," witch, or evil-disposed person, disturb the remains. Should the watcher happen to see a snake among the thorns, he would say to his friends: "I have seen him (the spirit) to-day basking in the sun on the top of the grave." Were he kind and gentle, when alive, he would probably add: "We need not fear, he



will still treat us in the same way now he is dead." When sickness invades a kraal, the oldest son praises the spirit of his father or grandfather, giving him the names he has gained by valor in battle. He sometimes chides as well as praises, especially if the sickness seems likely to terminate fatally, saying: "If we should all die in consequence of the affliction you are sending upon us, your worshipers will come to an end; therefore, for your own sake, as well as ours, do not destroy us." When a family move to another part of the country, and do not see in the new place the snake representing the paternal spirit, they conclude that it has remained behind, and return to sacrifice an ox, giving thanks, and singing the songs the father sung when alive. This, they maintain, is to excite pity, so that he may say: "Truly, my children are lonely because they do not see me." If a widow, left with small children, neglects them, the spirit of the departed husband is likely to appear to her in a dream, saying: "Why have you left my children? Go back to them. If you do not, I will kill you." The command is generally heeded.

Zulu ancestral spirits, like the gods in heathen mythology, are not free from jealousy. When an animal is sacrificed by the head man of a kraal to appease the spirits and avert death he will go outside the cattle inclosure and pray as follows: "All hail, spirits of our tribe! Is it proper, instead of asking for food, that you should come to us at all times in the form of sickness? No, it is proper, if you demand food, that I should not refuse it. There, then (pointing to the slaughtered animal), is your food. All ye spirits of our tribe summon one another. I am not going to say: So-and-so, there is your food; for you are *jealous*. I give you what you ask. Let the man get well."

Were there certain marks on the body of a man while living, by which he was particularly known, for instance, had he but one eye, or did he go lame, the serpent representative is sure to resemble him. The Zulus also believe in a spirit called "*Inkosazana Yezulu*," Princess of Heaven. She is described as possessing quite an angelic appearance, robed in white, and imparting remarkable revelations. Before the late "Zulu war" she is reported as having given indications that some great calamity was about to happen, filling the minds of the natives with terror. One indication was the descent of fire from heaven, which burnt all the grass on the grave of Umpandi, a late Zulu king, an event which was unprecedented. The result of another appearance was, that the mothers throughout Zululand buried their little ones up to their heads in the sand, and deserted them for a time, returning, however, at night to unearthen them.

Enough has been said to show that ancestral spirits are the objects of native worship in South Africa. Their influence not only over individuals, but over all mundane affairs, is, in the estimation of the heathen, incalculably great. The nature of that influence depends on their disposition; for they can be benevolent or malevolent, — sweet and kind (guardian angels), or cruel and destructive. They can make crops productive, or blast them; can cause health and prosperity, or send disease and death. Before going to war, it has been a Zulu custom from time immemorial to send individuals into the enemy's country to steal a child, which is offered as a sacrifice to the spirits, to obtain their favor and insure victory. If successful, the blood of oxen and goats flows freely from their altars, and their thanksgivings are profuse.

A few words in reference to the locality of the departed spirits. The natives universally say it is "*pansi*," underneath, or the lower world.

Like some of the Irish and Scotch Highlanders, Africans located their dead in subterranean regions, and it is a curious ideal coincidence that the former more highly favored people regard *sneezing* as an indication of good health, uttering ejaculations of thanks to the spirits while in the act. A Zulu expresses it thus: "Sneezing gives a man strength to remember that the spirit has entered into him and abides with him, and he returns thanks with great joy, having no doubt about it."

The manner in which Zulus obtained a knowledge of Hades is given to us in one of their traditions. A hunter chased a deer into a deep hole made by an ant-bear, and, following it, he descended deeper and deeper, till he came to the abode of his ancestors. On his return he reported an abundance of cattle, all white, food in sufficient quantity; indeed, the subterraneans were in good circumstances. The number of those who place any faith in this tradition is few. Deeply conscious of a future state, most of them have fearful forebodings of what may befall them in that state. A Zulu man once said to me, as he was about to die, "I am sinking into a dark, deep pit. I am afraid." He expressed the feeling of benighted Africans, and of heathen generally. Their religion — if spirit-worship can be called religion — affords no comfort in a dying hour.

Most South African tribes have a tradition respecting a creator called "Unkulunkulu," — Great-Great, — but they offer him no worship, nor do they seem to have any sense of accountability to him. That they possess a conscience we have undoubted evidence, on the fidelity of which we can rely; and we find it a wonderful auxiliary to us in our missionary work.

I come now to consider the darkest feature of native worship, illustrated by the way in which Africans consult the ancestral spirits. A class of men and women has risen among them who may be designated as the priests and priestesses of their religion. They have various names. The most common is "Izanusi," — smellers-out, or discoverers of criminals and those possessed with witchcraft. They profess to be in communication with the "Amatongo," and to be able to discover, through their aid, secrets which ordinary mortals cannot obtain. That they may become thoroughly acquainted with their art they endure a great amount of self-sacrifice. For instance, they leave their homes, isolate themselves from their fellows, live and sleep in solitary places, fraternize with wild animals, endure hunger and cold, and talk to the moon, till they become almost if not quite lunatics. Their clothing is hideous in the extreme, consisting of skins of crocodiles and boa constrictors, with the teeth of wild cats and fetishes of various kinds about their necks, the bladders of birds and wild beasts on their heads, and a long leopard's skin dangling about their loins. "In one case he (the 'Izanusi') will be dressed merely in the ordinary Kaffir kilt, with a few inflated gall-bladders in his hair, and a snake-skin wound over his shoulders. In another, he will have rubbed his face and body with white earth, covered his head with such quantities of charms that his face can hardly be seen under them, and fringed his limbs with the tails of cows, the long hair tufts of goats, skins of birds, and other wild and savage adornments, while a perpetual clanking sound is made at every movement by numbers of small tortoise-shells strung on leathern thongs."<sup>1</sup> The power this class of Africans possesses over their countrymen is unbounded. A few years ago one of them predicted that

<sup>1</sup> Wood's *Uncivilized Races of Men*, vol. i. p. 179.

during a certain time all the white men in Kaffraria would be driven into the sea, and that the natives might kill and eat their own cattle *ad libitum*, as they would be abundantly supplied from the spoil they would obtain. Multitudes followed the *dictum* of the prophet, and would have perished in the famine that ensued had it not been for the charity of the Europeans. One visited a mission station in Natal, some years ago, and warned those who had nominally embraced Christianity that if they remained a week longer under the influence of the white teacher they would all die. Terrified and weak in faith, most of them left at once; some never to return. I have watched these "Izanusi" closely while in the process of calling up the spirits, — "spirit-rapping," we may call it, as they beat the ground with canes, shouting, at the same time, "Yizwa! Yizwa!" (Hear! hear!) and when I have listened to their ambiguous oracles, I have not been surprised that their simple and credulous countrymen are deluded. In the Natal Colony and a portion of Zululand now under British protection, the "smelling out" of certain individuals and pronouncing them witches, is prohibited, and a great amount of bloodshed prevented. What a blessing it would be to South Africa if it were stopped among all its tribes! Tyaka, the "Napoleon Bonaparte of Southeastern Africa," who ruled in Zululand at the beginning of this century, once had the courage of charging all the "Izanusi" in his kingdom with being humbugs. During the night he sprinkled blood about the royal kraal, and called the doctors to investigate the cause. One "smelt out" this person, another that. Only one guessed rightly, saying, "I smell out the Heavens" (meaning the king). His life was spared; all the rest were killed.

I would not intimate that these crafty natives do not perform feats difficult to explain; but Indian jugglers do the same. We have been told that the priests in the Hawaiian Islands "performed wonders not surpassed by the most skillful medium among the spiritualists in America." I think I may say the same in regard to spirit-doctors in South Africa. Dr. Phelps, of Andover, in speaking of spiritualism, observes, "It builds on the road to the mad-house." Emphatically is this true of Zulu spiritualism. I cannot conceive of a more dementing process. In view of its developments, I am not surprised that our native ministers, even the best educated, believe that the "Izanusi" are, in many cases, demoniacally possessed. Some white missionaries are of the same opinion. One lately told me that a female formerly under his instruction became a spirit doctress and a determined foe to the gospel. She was calm whenever he discoursed on sin, and guilt, and eternal misery, but when he uttered the name of Christ she would foam and rage in the most terrible manner. He remarked, "Certainly, *she* was possessed with the devil." Were the question addressed to South African missionaries, as it was to our brethren in Southern India, by Rev. Joseph Cook, not long ago, whether demoniacal agency is apparent among the heathen with whom we have to do, perhaps there would be a diversity of opinion. That Satan acts in and through these heathen is painfully evident, but may we not say the same in reference to godless, unprincipled men in Christian lands?

*J. Tyler.*

NATAL, SOUTH AFRICA.

## BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

YALE BIOGRAPHIES AND ANNALS. 1701-1745. By FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, M. A. With Appendix. Pp. 788. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1885.

By this volume much indirect light is thrown on the questions now interesting the graduates of Yale College. In the beginnings of the university as a "Collegiate School," the germs appear of the principles which have made it great. Although the Annals end in 1745, yet the biographies of graduates to that date carry the record down to the Revolution in many cases. There is a fascination in those old times of the Saybrook Platform, the Old and New Light antagonisms, and the colonial struggles and controversies, for both Annals and Biographies, as here presented with painstaking accuracy, are by no means dry reading.

The conflicts over the location of the school and its final settlement at New Haven are vigorously narrated; the forcible wresting away from Saybrook of books belonging to the college by sheriff and posse; the resistance of the Saybrook people who broke the carts and turned loose the oxen, and the loss of two hundred and sixty books in the scrimmage, exhibit the feeling of the times. The Annals tell us that seven hundred of these books were sent over from England; volumes of the "Tattler" and "Spectator," by Richard Steele, Esq., the "Principia," by Sir Isaac Newton, and other works from Bentley, Calamy, and Matthew Henry.

There can be no doubt, as these Annals show, that the Congregational clergy of Connecticut, Trustees or "Undertakers" of the Collegiate School, meant to found an orthodox religious institution of learning, especially to train youths from Connecticut for the Christian ministry, although they did not restrict the object of the school to that purpose. The Appendix shows that of the four hundred and seventy-two graduates to the year 1745, over three fourths were from that State, three hundred and thirty-six continued to live in Connecticut, and about one half of all the graduates entered the ministry, of whom one hundred and thirty-seven occupied Connecticut pulpits. These figures are an indication of what the school expected of its graduates, and when we read in the Biographies of the famous theologians and the lists of their printed works, the kind of instruction given to the pupils is apparent.

We do not need to be told by the quaint "Laws" (to which, after copying, every Freshman must subscribe) that religious training was a prominent feature of the institution. One of these "Laws" was that "All undergraduates except freshmen, shall Read Some part of y<sup>e</sup> old testament out of Hebrew into Greek In y<sup>e</sup> morning;" another, that "All students shall recite on Saturday evening y<sup>e</sup> Assemblies shorter Chatechism in luttin." Under these conditions it might be expected that Jonathan Edwards, of the class of 1720, would become "the most eminent graduate of Yale" in theology, and that Samuel Hopkins, of the class of 1741, would be "one of the three greatest theologians of the Eighteenth Century." We also get a hint of the kind of doctrine taught by Joseph Bellamy, of the class of 1735, when his contemporaries speak of him as a man "of great natural severity of temper, qualified by religious principle;" also as "imperious," and with "a decidedly humorous vein."

The expulsion of David Brainerd (November, 1741) reveals the strictness of those times in college discipline; and the demand of reverence for dignities is exhibited in the vote of the Trustees at the Commencement of 1741, that no student shall call the Rector, the Trustees, or the tutors, "hypocrites, carnal or unconverted men."

The "excusing" of Rector Cutler in 1722 "from all further service as Rector," on account of his episcopal tendencies, also manifests the religious "animus" of the institution at that time.

The Annals close with the mention of a new charter, drafted by Rector Clap, with a view to the enlarging of his own powers and the privileges of the whole college; but as the new charter itself is not given, the questions of the present limitation in choice of Fellows, and as to whether the present constitution is ecclesiastical or not, do not properly come within the scope of this review.

The character of Rector Clap, however, as the various notices of him in this volume give it, may throw some light on the true interpretation of the charter, drafted by him, and revised by Thomas Fitch of the class of 1721, a man whose judicial fairness may be seen in "An Explanation of Saybrook Platform" attributed to him. Rector Clap was a pronounced Calvinist and an uncompromising administrator; these traits appear in his treatment of the Cleveland brothers, expelled in 1744 for "attending religious meetings, conducted by a layman in a private house" in vacation, and in company with their parents. It is hardly possible that such a man could have drafted or accepted a charter which would defeat the most orthodox aims of the earliest founders. It has lately been proved that the Yale charter is really incorporated into the Constitution of Connecticut, which reaffirms the charter; therefore it is simply the interpretation of the charter that is important, and in this latter connection the biographies of the men of the period are especially interesting. Let us hope that a second volume of "Annals and Biographies" will soon materially aid our researches in this direction.

The interest of the present volume, however, is by no means confined to the biographies of famous divines whose labors and renown are their legacy to their alma mater. Philip Livingston (1737) was a member of the first Continental Congress, and a signer, with three other younger Yale graduates, of the Declaration of Independence. Phineas Lyman (1738) was commander-in-chief of the Connecticut forces, and distinguished himself at Fort Edward and Ticonderoga. Timothy Johnes (1737) welcomed George Washington, though not a Presbyterian, to the communion table at Morristown. These Annals show also how the idea of Dartmouth College was developed in the brain of Eleazar Wheelock (1733), who became its first president. Nor is there lacking in this volume the spice of humor. At the Commencement in 1723, the second doctorate conferred in America was given to Daniel Turner, of the Royal College of Physicians in London, "who had accompanied his letter, soliciting the honor, with a gift of 28 volumes of valuable medical books," suggesting to a wit of the period that the mystic letters "M. D." meant "Multum Donavit."

We catch a glimpse, also, of the "day of small things," as we read that the name of "Yale College" was first applied to the single building, erected by funds donated by Elihu Yale, and as we scan the balance sheet of the college in 1726-27, finding the total expenses amounting to



only £315; the last balance sheet under the old charter (1743-44) under Rector Clap giving a total of £251.18.4.

The sources whence this scanty income came seem singularly at variance with the severe religious character of the institution. In October, 1721, the General Assembly passed an act providing that the entire revenue from the "duty of impost upon Rhum" should be applied to the building of the Rector's house. In 1723 a petition from the college to renew this grant of the duty upon rum was refused; but in 1727 the grant was renewed, and the Rector's salary raised to £212. In 1747, as we learn from the biography of Samuel Mix, of the class of 1720, South Middle College was built from part of the proceeds of a lottery, authorized by the Assembly.

If we now criticise these methods, we can at least applaud the better disposition of the Assembly which, before 1721, had argued that there was "too great a spirit of learning in the land; more are brought up to it than will be needed, or find improvement."

We leave the pleasant task of this review, commending the whole volume to all graduates and friends of Yale, and urging them to remember that the "Collegiate School," having been chartered "For upholding and Propagating of the Christian Protestant Religion, by a Succession of Learned and Orthodox men," it is incumbent on all to "incourage and promote so necessary and Religious an undertaking."

*Alexander S. Twombly.*

BOSTON, MASS.

- RECENT DISCUSSIONS OF THE PATRIARCHAL THEORY. 1. *The Patriarchal Theory*. Based on the Papers of the late JOHN F. McLENNAN. Edited and completed by DONALD McLENNAN. Pp. xvi., 355. London, 1885.  
2. *The Patriarchal Theory*. The Quarterly Review for January, 1886. Article VII.

THE late Mr. McLennan, on whose papers the volume above mentioned is based, was well known as the author of a work on "Primitive Marriage." These papers, both in their original form and in the expansion given them by the editor, have for their object to criticise and overthrow Sir Henry Maine's reasonings concerning the earliest structure of society. The appearance of the book has called out, under the same title, a very able and brilliant article in reply, which appears in the "Quarterly Review" for January last.

The Patriarchal theory is thus described by Sir Henry Maine, in his "Early Law and Custom."

"It is the theory of the origin of society in separate families, held together by the authority and protection of the eldest valid male ascendant." . . . "The strongest and wisest male rules. He jealously guards his wife or wives. All under his protection are on an equality. The strange child who is taken under it, the stranger who is brought under it to serve, are not distinguished from the child born under its shelter. But when wife, child, or slave escapes, there is an end to all relations with the group, and the kinship which means submission to power, or participation in protection, is at an end."

This is also Darwin's view.

"If we look far enough back in the stream of time, . . . the most probable view is that primeval men aboriginally lived in small communities, each with as many wives as he could support or obtain, whom he would have jealously guarded against all other men. In primeval times men would probably have



lived as polygamists, or temporarily as monogamists. They would not at that time have lost one of the strongest of all instincts, the love of their own offspring."

The principal reasons for accepting the Patriarchal theory are the so-called *Patria Potestas* and the law of Agnation. Roman law and custom made the family the centre, with which almost all Roman institutions were closely connected. The family was preserved by the power of the father, who had almost absolute control of the property and actions of the members of the family, and by the custom of confining the laws of descent and inheritance to males. Male descendants were Agnates, female descendants Cognates; or, strictly speaking, Agnates were the descendants of males, and usually only the male descendants of males, Cognates the descendants of females, both male and female descendants. Substantially the same customs have been found among many nations, — the Hindus, the Hebrews, the Russians. Traces of the power of the father are found in the laws of England and of nearly all the European nations, as also of the superior rights of male descendants. The evidence, although not complete, gives strong support to the theory that society originated in the family. In further confirmation it is urged that sexual jealousy, which could not have been weaker in primitive than it is in modern times, would have been favorable to the preservation of the family, and that the love of offspring would also strengthen family ties.

Against this theory the McLennan book argues that Roman law is exceptional, not typical, that other nations, even those subjected to Rome, had laws widely different, and that the family of the Hebrews, Hindus, and Romans did not correspond to Sir Henry Maine's description of it. But the objections are not well taken, for no one denies that there were later modifications of Roman law, especially under the influence of Christianity, in favor of women; nor is it claimed that the original family was invariable, to the last particular, in the various parts of the earth where it appeared.

The theory which is proposed in place of the patriarchal is that primitive society was promiscuous. Instead of the family was the horde. Each group or horde was distinguished by a peculiar mark, — a totem, — the figure of some animal or plant, from which it was at length believed the tribe was descended. Within these groups sexual intercourse was unregulated. Owing to the practice of female infanticide, the number of men exceeded the number of women, and as a result each woman came to have several husbands. So that the next stage was not polygamy, but polyandry. Descent was traced through females because paternity was uncertain. On account of the fewness of females it became customary to capture the women of other tribes and marry them. Later on, marriage was forbidden with women of a man's own tribe. The practice of exogamy — marriage outside — became common.

This theory is unsatisfactory, for it combines disconnected and exceptional customs, which are seldom found together. It also relies chiefly on the customs of savage tribes of to-day. All savages taken together constitute but a small fraction of the globe's population, and these are scattered into numerous widely-separated tribes. One custom is found here and another there, but all these customs are not found together. As a rule, the sexes are, and always have been, nearly equal in number. Certain causes may produce, locally and temporarily, deficiency on one side or the other. Wars may have reduced the number of males and

polygamy might follow. Migration over the seas, or into new territory, would give groups with an excess of males, and polyandry might follow. But on the whole, the equilibrium is preserved.

Exogamy is found to some degree among all nations. There is everywhere a circle of relationship, wider or narrower, within which marriage is prohibited.

It is to be noticed that hitherto little account has been made, by the advocates of either theory, of ancestor worship. This wide-spread custom seems to afford additional confirmation of the Patriarchal theory.

At present it must be concluded that the most probable theory of the structure of early society is that, in a more or less developed form, the family was the original unit. Sexual and parental affection point to it, and early law and custom confirm it.

George Harris.

STRANGE CASE OF DR. JEKYLL AND MR. HYDE. By ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1886. Pp. 138. 25 cts.

THIS is a psychological study after the manner of Nathaniel Hawthorne. Indeed, we wonder as we read the weird allegory, or parable, that it should have escaped the fruitful imagination of Hawthorne.

The "Case" will be read with more interest, as well as with better understanding, if the last chapter of the book is read first. One does not hesitate, therefore, to give the *motif* of the story. Dr. Henry Jekyll, a man of fortune and of good parts, with the promise of a fine professional future, finds himself, upon reaching maturity, committed, as he believes, to a profound duplicity of life. His youthful irregularities, which do not seem to have been grossly wanton, he has concealed that he might enjoy the full respect and honor of society. And yet, as he says, he was in no sense a hypocrite: "Both sides of me were in dead earnest. I was no more myself when I laid aside restraint and plunged into shame, than when I labored in the eye of day at the furtherance of knowledge or the relief of sorrow and suffering." Under the irritating consciousness of this dual moral nature he is haunted by the idea of a possible separation between its contending parts, each to be "housed in separate identities." His scientific studies lend their aid to the accomplishment of this strange fancy. He proceeds to compound a drug strong enough to "shake the fortress of personal identity;" and, under the action of this drug, the body, in which he knew himself and was known to others, is dissolved and he is transformed into another presence fitting the baser part of his nature, to which he gives the name of Edward Hyde. This other self is less robust, smaller, and younger than the original, because as yet the main course of the life has been one of virtue and control. The transformation, thus made possible, from Jekyll to Hyde and back again, gives the situation of the story. The various chapters of the book detail the doings of this double man and the complications of his dual life with the life of others. Memory preserves identity between Jekyll and Hyde, but one of the two is lost to society and ceases to exist in outward form as often as the transformation takes place.

At first the transformation is quickly and readily made, though attended with severe bodily pains, but after a time it becomes more difficult to recover the original self. "It had seemed to me of late" — this is as the story nears its close — "as though the body of Edward Hyde

had grown in stature, as though when I wore that form I were conscious of a more generous tide of blood ; and I began to spy a danger that if this were much prolonged, the balance of my nature might be permanently overthrown, the power of voluntary change be forfeited, and the character of Edward Hyde become irrevocably mine." The manner in which this fear is realized is told with startling realistic power, from the time when the change takes place in sleep without the use of the drug to the time when the drug fails to act in recovery ; and in general it may be said of the style of the author that it is powerful in its action and in its restraint.

This brief allegory is the most effective sermon which has been written in the guise of fiction within the present decade, if not within the present generation. Read once, it will be read again ; and it will be remembered. Every man will recognize enough of himself in this "Strange Case" to put him upon serious thought as to the possibilities of his own nature if not guarded, controlled, and *redeemed* in its higher powers. The last chapter of the book, entitled, "Dr. Jekyll's full Statement of the Case," is a despairing echo of the seventh chapter of Romans.

Wm. J. Tucker.

THE TOBACCO PROBLEM. By META LANDER [Mrs. Margaret Woods Lawrence]. Pp. viii., 279. Boston : Cupples, Upham & Co. 1886.

A BOOK which sets forth with any considerable degree of fullness the argument against the use of tobacco, in the very nature of the case, must seem at first glance, except to those somewhat familiar with the facts, extravagant and intemperate. It would be strange if this book should escape the hasty charge. Argument always outruns reform. Tobacco is entrenched behind centuries of habit, and, like wine, has been made attractive in literature and by all the arts of elegant life. The tolerance of the tobacco habit by the community is even more surprising than the tolerance of tobacco itself by the human system. A thing so common cannot seem so bad. As if by some agreement, abundant room has been given of late to the arguments against the habit, not in the grotesque form of certain tracts, addresses, and wood-cuts of thirty years or so ago, but in sober statements based upon the very highest medical authority. The subject has been discussed not empirically, and by fanatics, but with the thoroughness and carefulness of scientific observation. The result has been an accumulation of facts and opinions on the one hand, and on the other a public interest, almost a public alarm, which calls for such a book as this, — a treasury of information ready to the hand of the student of social problems, particularly of those which concern the young.

This book will serve the double purpose of informing those who have not given its subject attention, and of equipping those who, being convinced, desire to help forward an urgent reform. The pulpit has been for two generations the steadfast friend of the temperance movement ; for a glorious generation it stood in battle against human slavery ; it keeps no prudent silence on the questions which concern the sacredness of the family ; more and more, in fact, the whole second table of the law is expounded and inculcated in its widest applications. The pulpit will be doing a worthy and sacred service to our youth, and through them to the church and the state, when it takes such material as this book abundantly supplies and brings it to bear persuasively and convincingly on

the judgment and the conscience of our people. The world cannot be scared, or ridiculed, or bribed into virtue. Bad habit is best assailed by the dispassionate array of valid arguments, supported by the highest sanctions, and urged with patient, affectionate zeal.

The States are recognizing this truth, and are beginning not only to protect our youth by restraining the sale of tobacco to persons within a prescribed limit of age, but also to require that instruction be given in the public schools on the nature and physiological effects of narcotics. Next to the physicians the teachers are most outspoken, emphatic, and unanimous in their condemnation of the tobacco habit; in many cases they may be even more influential than physicians and preachers in that prevention which is far better than cure. For teachers and all others who love the youth of our land, and for all students of social science, this modest, earnest book will be a source of argument and appeal. Parents will debate it with their sons, and sons in some cases might doubtless make good use of it with their fathers.

C. F. P. Bancroft.

THE STORY OF CHALDEA, from the earliest times to the rise of Assyria; treated as a general introduction to the study of ancient history. By ZÉNAÏDE A. KAGOZIN. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

THIS is in every way an admirable book for its purpose. It appears as one of a series projected by G. P. Putnam's Sons, the object of which is to present to intelligent youth the most recent discoveries concerning the history of the race, in a sufficiently attractive manner to awaken interest and command attention. In securing this object only legitimate means are employed, both as respects style and matter. The result is that a narrative has been produced suited to every intelligent reader, whether young or old. Of its accuracy in details, of course only a specialist in Assyriology can judge. But the style is beautifully clear, and the grouping of events is artistic and at times dramatic. The tone of narration has the reserve and moderation characteristic of the scientific spirit. Its attitude towards the Hebrew Scriptures betrays none of that nervousness, now so common, which indicates a suspiciousness of their divine origin, and the apprehension that skeptical objections may not receive the full consideration to which they are entitled. In one or two instances, perhaps, there is the tendency to hypercriticism in dealing with the free and colloquial style of the Bible, which suggests a somewhat feeble grasp upon the hermeneutical principles that should govern the interpretation of such a book. But this tendency is not by any means marked, while, on the whole, the Biblicalist will feel that the inspired Word is treated with a reverent, as well as a critical, discrimination.

The range of the story, as it is developed under the guidance of the recent discoveries in Assyria, is immense. The recorded history of Chaldea is shown to excel in its antiquity the annals of Egypt, stretching back in fact to a point at least 4,000 years before Christ. The author conducts the reader to this wonderful conclusion, by first presenting a graphic account of the recent discoveries among the ruins of the Chaldean cities, giving deserved prominence to the library collected by Asshurbanipal, the grandson of Sennacherib, 650 years before Christ. A portion of this library, if the inscriptions are to be credited, dates back to Sargon, 3,800 years B. C.

The account of the discovery of this library of earthen cylinders by Layard, in a confused mass of broken pieces, and of its reconstruction and translation by George Smith of the British Museum, has all the interest of a romance. The number of tablets it contains is more than ten thousand.

The suggestion is then made and cautiously supported, that the race found dwelling in Chaldea at the beginning of these records was the Turanian, and that the Turanian nations may all, with a fair probability, be referred to the family of Cain. This theory assumes of course the limited area of the Noachian deluge.

In support of this theory of the Turanian and Cainite origin of the aborigines of Chaldea, an ingenious argument is woven of Scripture references, with the facts found in the ceramic library of Nineveh (Koyunjik). The leading fact in the case is the presence, among the Assyrian tablets of this collection, of a large number in a still older language, — a monosyllabic, "agglutinative" language, — such as is in use among the yellow races to this day, totally unlike the Shemitic tongues. Not only are these two totally distinct languages found side by side in the library of Assurbanipal, but they are found rendered into each other, by a complete machinery of grammars, dictionaries, and school-books. To the testimony thus obtained is added that of Berosus, a historian of Chaldea about the time of its conquest by Alexander the Great, and the conclusion is reached that the original Turanian settlement was followed, after long ages, by an immigration of Cushites, of the family of Ham, or of Shemites, or perhaps of both. The latter, in a perfectly peaceful way, so far as appears, took control both of Chaldea and Assyria, and built up the succession of splendid monarchies that followed, till now in the mysterious revolution of events the Turanian, in the person of "the unspeakable Turk," has again spread the darkness of barbarism over the land.

In the course of the examination of these documents in stone some literary results have appeared hardly less remarkable than their historical revelations. Among them are poems of marked beauty, psalms of penitence, myths and astrologies, and finally a Chaldean epic, somewhat imperfect, but needing only a tablet or two more to complete a cosmogony worthy to rank with the *De Rerum Natura* of Lucretius.

All this is, of course, familiar to the special students of Assyriology in the writings of Layard, Lenormant, Rawlinson, Sayce, George Smith and many others. In this volume the wonderful story is arranged, condensed, and set in the light of the contemporaneous Hebrew history, in which the world has a special and absorbing interest.

Maps conveniently covering the fly-leaves at the beginning and end of the volume, and the seventy-nine illustrations scattered through it, as well as the ample indexes and constant inter-references, render the mechanical setting of this picture of the past especially attractive.

John Putnam Gulliver.

PROFESSOR G. DROYSSEN'S ALLGEMEINER HISTORISCHER HAND-ATLAS, in sechs-und-neunzig Karten, mit erläuterndem Text. Ausgeführt von der Geographischen Anstalt von Velhagen und Klasing in Leipzig, unter Leitung von Dr. RICHARD ANDREE. Folio, pp. 182. Bielefeld und Leipzig: Verlag von Velhagen und Klasing. 1886.

BESIDES the names of Droysen and Andree, those of thirty-two other German specialists in historical and geographical studies are given as co-



laborers in the preparation either of the maps or the text of this Atlas. It is a work of the highest authority, and deserves a place in the library of every college and academy, and in town or city libraries where it will be accessible to teachers of the more advanced classes in the public schools.

The maps begin with The World as known to the Ancients. Some twenty-eight, including side or smaller maps, are devoted to classical and sacred history; the remainder—more than a hundred—to the history of the Christian era. The development of the leading nations, especially the European, is given with clearness and fullness. We have never examined an atlas so beautifully colored, or which exhibits so definitely and suggestively the progress and relations of the countries which are represented. Besides changes in boundaries, those in religion and commercial relations, the course of geographical discovery, and the distribution of races, are also treated. As a mere work of art the Atlas is a delight to the eye, and shows how great is the advance in cartography as respects the execution as well as the designing of maps.

This Atlas will not supersede for Biblical and classical geography the excellent Atlas of Smith and Grove, which is more copious than the corresponding portion in Droysen's. Nor is it equal to the Spruner-Menke Atlas of the mediæval and modern eras in the number of places which are given and in other minute details. Its peculiar excellence lies in the remarkable distinctness which is gained in respect to boundaries, the quick suggestiveness of the movement of history, the ready helps to tracing its successive steps, the compactness combined with great variety and abundance of information.

One cause of the success of the maps is the unusually skillful use of color. Not only is there a remarkable brightness, a sort of metallic lustre, but also a very helpful identity or distinction of colors as may be most serviceable. As an example we may refer to the map of France in the twelfth century. The opposite shore of England is given in a pink line, and then the Angevin Dominion in France is depicted by a surface of the same color, which impresses at once the great extent of the possessions in France of the English king, and this effect is heightened by the contrasted tints selected for the French territory. One of the most noticeable pieces of coloring is the map of Germany in the eighteenth century. The numerous political divisions which are almost unintelligible in the pages of history start out into light and life. The map of Germany at the time of the Reformation, and another of the same country at the time of the Thirty Years' War, are no less admirable.

*Egbert C. Smyth.*

A SIMPLIFIED GRAMMAR OF THE PĀLI LANGUAGE. By E. MÜLLER, Ph. D. London: Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill. 1884.

THE progress of Pāli studies is hopefully indicated by the appearance of this book, which, while bearing a modest title, contains a full and scholarly summary of the subjects treated, but with notable defects of omission.

In a grammar claiming to be "simplified" we may reasonably expect a brief and comprehensive treatment of those topics usually considered strictly grammatical; yet this book fails to meet our expectation. A



good idea of the symmetry of the work may be had from the table of contents, from which it appears that one half is devoted to letters and sounds, and the other half to inflections. The former part, though occupied with a highly important subject, might, with no appreciable loss, have been much abridged and condensed. The discussion of inflections is, in the main, admirable, but here, also, slight abridgment would have been better in places. It is misleading to find *sakhi* (*friend*), declined among stems in *r* without comment; that old and useless distinction of "general" and "special" tenses is also retained. There is no word on the important subjects of derivation and composition, — matters of which the simplest Pāli grammar ought to take notice. The absence of any treatment of syntax is justified by the author in this language: "Another part of the grammar which is totally wanting in my essay is the syntax; but here I hope that the classical languages, with which, no doubt, nearly all my readers are acquainted, will fill up the gap. Sanskrit, so to say, has no syntax at all, but expresses all the relations in a sentence merely by compounds. This way, however, was given up at an early date by the Indian vernaculars, and a form of construction was introduced which bears a close resemblance to the syntax of the classical languages. Under these circumstances, I have thought it best, as I had no space to give a complete syntax, to give, at the end of the grammar, a short Jātaka, with an analysis that might help the student to understand the Pāli construction." The appended jātaka fills two pages; its translation, two; its analysis, over ten. Absolute accuracy in printing Pāli is not expected, and so occasional misprints are easily excused. It was doubtless an oversight to describe the adverb *nāma* (*by name*) as "nom. sing. of a neuter *n*-stem." Paragraphs are too inadequately numbered for convenient reference, and the book has no index, — a deficiency which, as Professor Whitney has somewhere said, ought, in a work of this kind, to be made a penitentiary offense. It were much to be desired that, instead of the uniform type used throughout, two or more sizes had been employed to designate the varying importance of the matter. In a word, the book is poorly planned; it is good for what it gives, bad for what it fails to give; still, beginners of Pāli will find it the best grammar accessible in English.

L. H. Elwell.

AMHERST COLLEGE.

ELEMENTS OF HEBREW BY AN INDUCTIVE METHOD. Sixth Edition. Rewritten. By WILLIAM R. HARPER, Ph. D., Professor in Chicago Baptist Union Theological Seminary, etc. 182 pp., large 8vo. Chicago: American Publishing Society of Hebrew. 1885.

Also, by the same author and publisher, INTRODUCTORY HEBREW METHOD, AND MANUAL. Second Edition. Rewritten. 170 and 93 pp. Chicago, 1885.

THAT the "Elements" have met the needs of the class of students for which they were prepared may be inferred from the number of editions, or re-impressions, which have been called for since their first appearance in 1881. In the edition before us the work has been substantially rewritten, and enlarged by some sixty pages. In the externals there has been a marked improvement over the former editions; the type, make-up of the page, paper, and binding are all that need be asked. That the author's continued studies and his wide experience as a teacher in this field have enabled him to make many substantial improvements in

the text of the work is natural. Every page shows marks of careful revision, and much of the material has been entirely recast. The characteristic features, however, remain, and the author in his Preface calls attention to the points in which it "differs radically from the other grammars in common use." First among these is that it is upon an inductive method, which means in the present case that "in the discussion of each subject there is [*sic*] first given sufficient data, either in the way of words taken from the text, or of Paradigms, to form a basis for the work," — that is, the example is given before the explanation, or the rule. The reviewer has some doubts whether this peculiarity of typographical arrangement is not somewhat overrated when it is called a method, and, specifically, an inductive method. The necessity of going back and forth many times between the general principle and the concrete instance before either the instance will be understood or the principle mastered remains the same, in whatever order they are presented.

As far as I can see, the "inductive method" goes no farther than this. In the general disposition of the material there is no considerable departure from that of the grammars in common use. Indeed, as a text-book for elementary instruction, one of our chief criticisms would be that the arrangement is not sufficiently progressive. Fifteen pages are given, for example, in the First Part, to a discussion of the vowel system in all its detail, and the whole subject of vowel changes in word-formation and inflection is explained before the student is supposed to know a noun from a verb. This brings before the beginner a mass of forms which he does not know in their connection, and makes necessary numerous references to the following chapters, where he is to make his first acquaintance with the phenomena, the minute analysis and classification of which are here set before him. Of other peculiarities of arrangement I note only that the inseparable particles (among which *Min* appears) are introduced before the pronouns, an innovation of more than doubtful advantage, one result of which is that *Min* is treated on page 59, and omitted altogether from the list of prepositions on page 161.

A second feature of the "Elements," to which the author calls special attention, is that in the inflection "the student is referred in every case to the primary form or ground-form from which the form in use has arisen in accordance with the phonetic laws of the language." The reviewer is in entire accord with Dr. Harper, that at the age at which students with us begin Hebrew, and with the previous philological training they are supposed to have had, a certain amount of historical explanation both stimulates interest and makes it easier to learn and to remember the actual forms. In an elementary work, however, this feature must be kept strictly within the limits in which it is a help to the acquisition of an empirical knowledge of the phenomena of the language. And at a stage when the learner is completely dependent on the authority of his text-book it is above all required that the explanations be scientifically unimpeachable.

This can by no means be said of the present work. Much of the explanation of the way in which the forms of the language have arisen is in the highest degree questionable. For those who are in these studies the author's standpoint will be sufficiently clear from a single example. On page 62, 2 (note), the origin of the form  $\text{אֶתְּ}$  is thus explained: "The original 'êth (= 'ûth) was confused with 'êth, which, shortened to 'ûth, gave rise to 'êth as  $\text{אֶתְּ}$  became  $\text{אֶתְּ}$ ," etc.

A root 'ûth would be hard to find; the verbal forms נִתְּחַר, נִתְּחַר, נִתְּחַר are not to the point. The concurrent evidence of Arabic and Assyrian has, I have supposed, settled the fact that the root is תָּחַר (תָּחַר), and that the final *t* is the feminine ending. (See recently Lagarde, GGA. 1884, 275; Fr. Delitzsch, Prolegomena eines neuen hebräisch-aramäischen-Wörterbuchs, 1886, 116 f.) But granted a root 'ûth, every step in this series of metamorphoses is either without analogy or against analogy. For the real explanation of the entirely different case תָּחַר תָּחַר cited in illustration see, for example, Philippi, Stat. Constr., p. 183; Stade, p. 135.

An equally strange impression is made when we read on page 156 f. that תָּחַר is for תָּחַר, and the like; or find (p. 43, n. 1) *Mann, Männer; facio, feci*, as illustrations of heightening; or (p. 44, n.) *sing, sang*, as an illustration of attenuation.

An error which is repeated in numerous places (e. g. p. 39, l. 10 f.; 68, l. 15 f.; 69, l. 12 f.) is that the *ē* in the imperfects of derived stems arises from original *ā* by attenuation and subsequent heightening; *ē* is the original vowel.

Perhaps the most striking evidence of the author's lack of that knowledge of the other Semitic languages which is indispensable to a scientific treatment of the Hebrew forms is on p. 61, l. 5, where we find the Arabic pronoun of the first person given as *anā*. This is as if a Latin grammar should set down *ego* in its list of pronouns. One is compelled to infer that Dr. Harper has never read his first page of Arabic poetry, where *ana* has always (out of pause) two short syllables. The final *Elif* which has probably misled the author has only a diacritical value.

Page 73, l. 1 ff. Neither here nor in the paragraph to which reference is made is any explanation given of the singular anomaly which lurks in these forms. Why תָּחַר בִּתְּחַר? Philippi, Morgenl. Forschungen, 77 f.; Prætorius, ZAT. 1883, 21 f.

Page 77. The theory of the formation of the perfect and imperfect Niphal is confused, and effect more than once put for cause.

Page 91. The classification of guttural verbs as weak is a step backwards. They preserve in many particulars the original forms more completely than *Katal*.

The treatment of the biconsonantal verbs follows closely in the traditional lines. It would be worth while, at least, to try the experiment of discarding in practice what is now widely abandoned in theory, — namely, the assumption that these forms have arisen by contraction from trilateral originals, — and let fall all the rules of contraction, and the artificial explanations which that assumption entails. It would lighten the learner's task by half.

The "Method" and "Manual" are books of which it would be possible to form an opinion only by actual use. On one point only I may be allowed to express my conviction, namely, that the selection of the first chapter of Genesis as the first text laid before the beginner, and, above all, as the basis of an inductive study of the phenomena of the Hebrew language, is a remarkably unfortunate one, however strongly countenanced by tradition. Hardly any greater gain could be made in our chrestomathies than final abandonment of it.

G. F. Moore.

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

*Q. P. Index, Publisher, Bangor.* The Q. P. Index Annual for 1885. Fifth Issue. Pp. 40. 1886. \$1.00.

*N. J. Bartlett, Boston.* Growth of the Church in its Organization and Institutions. Being the Croall Lectures for 1886. By John Cunningham, D. D., author of "Church History of Scotland," "The Quakers," "A New Theory of Knowing and Known," etc. London: Macmillan & Co. \$3.00.

*H. L. Hastings, Boston.* A Critical Greek and English Concordance of the New Testament. Prepared by Charles F. Hudson, under the direction of Horace L. Hastings, editor of "The Christian." Revised and completed by Ezra Abbot, D. D., LL. D., Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in the Divinity School of Harvard University. Seventh Edition. To which is added Green's Greek and English Lexicon. Crown 8vo, pp. xxii, 716. 1885. \$2.50.

*Funk & Wagnalls, New York.* The Simplicity that is in Christ. Sermons to the Woodland Church, Philadelphia. By Leonard Woolsey Bacon. 12mo, pp. 339. 1886. \$1.50; — The Two Books of Nature and Revelation. Collated. By Rev. George D. Armstrong, D. D., Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Norfolk, Va., and formerly Professor of Chemistry and Geology in Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va. 12mo, pp. vi, 213. 1886. \$1.00; — Praise-Songs of Israel. A new rendering of the Book of Psalms. (New and Revised Edition.) By John De Witt, D. D., of the Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, N. J., a member of the American Old Testament Revision Company. Pp. xxxi., 219.

*G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London.* Scriptures, Hebrew and Christian. Arranged and edited for Young Readers as an Introduction to the Study of the Bible. By Edward T. Bartlett, A. M., Dean of the Protestant Episcopal Divinity School in Philadelphia, and John P. Peters, Ph. D., Professor of the Old Testament Languages and Literature in the Protestant Episcopal Divinity School in Philadelphia. Vol. I. Hebrew Story from Creation to the Exile, comprising material from the following books of the Old Testament: Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, I. Samuel, II. Samuel, I. Kings, II. Kings, I. Chronicles, II. Chronicles, Psalms, Proverbs, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Amos, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah. Pp. xii., 545. 1886; — The Life of Society. A General View. By Edmund Woodward Brown. Pp. v., 270. 1885.

*Scribner & Welford, New York.* From Schola to Cathedral. A Study of Early Christian Architecture and its relation to the Life of the Church. By G. Baldwin Brown, M. A., late Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford, and Watson-Gordon, Professor of Fine Art in the University of Edinburgh. Pp. xvi, 231. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1886; — Nature and the Bible: Lectures on the Mosaic History of Creation in its relation to Natural Science. By Dr. Fr. H. Reusch, Professor of Catholic Theology in the University of Bonn. Revised and corrected by the Author. Translated from the Fourth Edition by Kathleen Lyttleton. In two volumes: Vol. I., pp. viii., 461; Vol. II., pp. 372. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1886.

*Chautauqua Press.* The Chautauqua Movement. By John H. Vincent. With an Introduction by President Lewis Miller. Pp. ix., 308.

*F. H. Revel, Chicago.* Home Duties. By Rev. R. T. Cross. Pp. 138. Cloth 75 cents; paper 40 cents.

*The Young Churchman Co., Milwaukee, Wisconsin.* Reasons for being a Churchman. Addressed to English-speaking Christians of every name. By the Rev. Arthur Wilde Little, M. A., Rector of St. Paul's Church, Portland, Maine. Second Thousand. Pp. xvi., 266.

"We know of no European guide-book which so admirably combines brevity, accuracy, completeness, convenience of shape, and tasteful mechanical execution."—INDEPENDENT.

## A SATCHEL GUIDE

FOR

### THE VACATION TOURIST IN EUROPE.

*Edition for 1886.* Revised, with additions. A compact Itinerary of the British Isles, Belgium and Holland, Germany and the Rhine, Switzerland, France, Austria, and Italy. With Maps, Tables of the Comparative Values of United States and European Moneys, a Traveller's Calendar of Ecclesiastical and Popular Festivals, Fairs, etc., and a List of the most Famous Pictures in the Public Galleries and Churches of Europe. 16mo, roan, flexible, \$1.50 *net*.

#### WHAT TOURISTS SAY, WHO HAVE USED IT.

"The 'Satchel Guide' I found the most useful of any guide-book that I had with me. It is compact, so convenient that I was never a day without it, as it tells just what one wants to know, and has nothing superfluous. I relied upon it as upon no other guide-book, and used it in all parts of Europe. No one leaving the United States for a tour in Europe should go without it."

"Ere I took my departure I purchased a 'Satchel Guide'—also *Baedeker's*, and in London a *Bradshaw*. . . . I cannot say too much in favor of the 'Satchel Guide.' It is worthy of all the high encomiums it has so justly received from the tourist, and we invariably sought its pages in preference to others."

"I have just returned from a short trip to Europe, and feel it a duty to thank you for publishing such a valuable little work as your 'Satchel Guide.' . . . It is certainly the most convenient and useful work now before the public, and gives just the needed points. By its use I was enabled to see more objects of real interest during the limited time at my disposal (forty days on shore) than I otherwise should, and at half the cost."

"The 'Satchel Guide' to Europe has been my constant companion and adviser, and I have been enabled to live comfortably, travel pleasantly, and see very much, at a very moderate expense. This guide has saved me the worry of seeking out hotels, and it points out the good, cheaper grades of hotels, as well as the first-class."

The *Pall Mall Gazette* says, "The book is indeed a model of perspicacity and brevity: all the advice it gives will be found of immediate service. The 'Satchel Guide' tells the reader *how to travel cheaply without a sacrifice of comfort*, and this feature of the book will recommend it to many tourists."

## Books of European Travel and Description,

BOTH PROSE AND POETICAL.

### FRANCE.

France and Savoy. Vols. IX. and X. of "Poems of Places." Edited by H. W. LONGFELLOW. "Little Classic" style. 18mo, \$2.00.

French and Italian Note-Books. By NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE. With etching and vignette. *Riverside Edition*. Crown 8vo, gilt top, \$2.00. "Little Classic" Edition. With vignette. 18mo, 2 vols. \$2.00.

### GERMANY.

Germany. By MADAME DE STAEL. With Notes and Appendices. 12mo, \$2.50; half calf, \$4.50.

Germany. Vols. XVII. and XVIII. of "Poems of Places." Edited by H. W. LONGFELLOW. "Little Classic" style. 18mo, \$2.00.

Hyperion. A Romance. By H. W. LONGFELLOW. Sketches of Life in Germany. 16mo, \$1.50.

*Cheap Edition.* Cloth, 40 cents; paper covers, 15 cents.

Saxon Studies. By JULIAN HAWTHORNE. Essays on Life in Saxony. 12mo, \$2.00.

### GREAT BRITAIN.

England and Wales. Vols. I.-IV. of "Poems of Places." Edited by H. W. LONGFELLOW. "Little Classic" style. 18mo, \$4.00.

England Without and Within. By RICHARD GRANT WHITE. 12mo, \$2.00.

The English Bodley Family. By HORACE E. SCUDDER. (Travel in England.) Fully illustrated. Ornamental cover. Small 4to, \$1.50.

English Note-Books. By NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE. With Vignette. "Little Classic" Edition. 2 vols. 18mo, \$2.00.

English Traits. By RALPH WALDO EMERSON. *Riverside Edition*. 12mo, gilt top, \$1.75. "Little Classic" Edition. 18mo, \$1.50.

Fresh Fields. By JOHN BURROUGHS. (Travel in England.) 16mo, \$1.50.



Ireland. Vol. V. of "Poems of Places." Edited by H. W. LONGFELLOW. "Little Classic" style. 18mo, \$1.00.

The Lands of Scott. By JAMES F. HUNNEWELL. Descriptions of the various Countries in which the scenes of The Waverley Novels are located. With Maps and Portrait. 12mo, \$2.50.

Old England; Its Scenery, Art, and People. By JAMES M. HOPPIN. New edition, enlarged. 12mo, \$1.75.

Our Old Home and English Note-Books. By NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE. *Riverside Edition*. With etching and vignette. 2 vols. crown 8vo, gilt top, \$4.00. Our Old Home. "Little Classic" Edition. 18mo, \$1.00.

Scotland. Vols. VI.-VIII. of "Poems of Places." Edited by H. W. LONGFELLOW. "Little Classic" style. 18mo, \$3.00.

### GREECE AND TURKEY.

Greece and Turkey. Vols. XIX. and XXII. of "Poems of Places." Edited by H. W. LONGFELLOW. "Little Classic" style. 18mo, \$1.00 each.

Greek Vignettes. A Sail in Greek Seas, Summer of 1877. By JAMES ALBERT HARRISON. "Little Classic" style. 18mo, \$1.25.

Lectures on Ancient and Modern Greece. By C. C. FELTON. 8vo, \$5.00.

### ITALY.

At Home in Italy. By Mrs. E. D. R. BIANCIARDI. 16mo, \$1.25.

Diary of an Ennuyée. By Mrs. ANNA JAMESON. 18mo, \$1.25.

Fiammetta. An Italian Novel. By W. W. STORY. 16mo, \$1.25.

The Improvisatore; or, Life in Italy. By H. C. ANDERSEN. 12mo, \$1.50.

Italian Journeys. By W. D. HOWELLS. 12mo, \$1.50.

Italian Note-Books. In "French and Italian Note-Books." By NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE. With etching and vignette. *Riverside Edition*. Crown 8vo, gilt top, \$2.00. "Little Classic" Edition. 2 vols. \$2.00.

Italian Popular Tales. Translated by Prof. T. F. CRANE. With Bibliography, etc. 8vo, gilt top, \$2.50.

Italy. Vols. XI.-XIII. of "Poems of Places." Edited by H. W. LONGFELLOW. "Little Classic" style. 18mo, \$3.00.

Journey into Italy. By MICHAEL DE MONTAIGNE. Included in Montaigne's Works, in four volumes, 12mo, \$7.50.

Notes of Travel and Study in Italy. By CHARLES ELIOT NORTON. 16mo, \$1.25.

Pictures from Italy. By CHARLES DICKENS. Illustrated. 12mo, \$1.50.

Six Months in Italy. By GEORGE S. HILLARD. Twenty-fourth Edition. 12mo, \$2.00.

Venetian Life. By W. D. HOWELLS. 12mo, \$1.50.

A Year in a Venetian Palace. By W. D. HOWELLS. In "Modern Classics," No. 32. 32mo, orange edges, 75 cents.

### SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

Castilian Days. By JOHN HAY. Travel Sketches. 16mo, \$2.00.

In Spain and Portugal. By HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN. 12mo, \$1.50.

Spain and Portugal. Vols. XIV. and XV. of "Poems of Places." "Little Classic" style. 18mo, \$2.00.

Spain in Profile. A Summer among Olives and Aloes. By J. A. HARRISON. "Little Classic" style. 18mo, \$1.50.

Ten Days in Spain. By KATE FIELD. Illustrated. "Little Classic" style. 18mo, \$1.25.

### GENERAL EUROPEAN TRAVEL.

The Bodley Grandchildren and their Journey in Holland. By HORACE E. SCUDDER. With sixty-five illustrations. Ornamental cover, small 4to, \$1.50.



- Crossing the Atlantic. Travel Pictures by AUGUSTUS HOPPIN. \$3.00.
- Dottings Round the Circle. By BENJAMIN R. CURTIS. Illustrated. 8vo, \$2.50.
- Due West; or, Round the World in Ten Months. By MATURIN M. BALLOU. 12mo, \$1.50.
- Fireside Travels. By JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. Essays on Cambridge, Moosehead, A Sea Voyage, and Italy. "Riverside Aldine" style. 16mo, \$1.00.
- From Ponkapog to Pesth. By THOMAS BAILEY ALDRICH. 16mo, \$1.25.
- Gleanings from Pontresina and the Upper Engadine. By H. P. ARNOLD. 16mo, gilt top, \$1.25.
- Hap Hazard. By KATE FIELD. Sketches in America and Europe. 18mo, \$1.25.
- Hillside and Seaside in Poetry. Selected by LUCY LARCOM. 18mo, \$1.00.
- In the Lena Delta. The Search for Commander De Long. By GEORGE W. MELVILLE. With Map and Illustrations. 8vo, \$2.50.
- Lars. By BAYARD TAYLOR. With Biographical Sketch and Notes. 16mo, paper covers, 15 cents.
- Mr. Bodley Abroad. By HORACE E. SCUDDER. A Book for Children. With sixty-five Illustrations. Ornamental cover. Small 4to, \$1.50.
- Norwegian Novels. By BJÖRNSTJERNE BJÖRNSSON. In seven volumes. I. Synnöve Solbakken; II. Arne; III. The Bridal March, etc.; IV. A Happy Boy; V. The Fisher Maiden; VI. Captain Mansana, etc.; VII. Magnhild. Stories, most of which contain descriptions of Norse customs and scenery. 16mo, each \$1.00; the set, \$7.00. New edition. 3 vols. 12mo, \$4.50.
- One Year Abroad. By BLANCHE WILLIS HOWARD. European Travel Sketches. "Little Classic" style. 18mo, \$1.25.
- O. T.; or, Life in Denmark. By HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN. 12mo, \$1.50.
- Outre-Mer. By H. W. LONGFELLOW. Travel and Literary Sketches in Europe. 16mo, \$1.50. Cheap Edition. Cloth, 40 cents; paper covers, 15 cents.
- Pictures of Travel; In Sweden, among the Hartz Mountains, and in Switzerland. By HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN. 12mo, \$1.50.
- Poems of Home and Travel. By BAYARD TAYLOR. 16mo, \$1.25.
- Poems of Places. Edited by H. W. LONGFELLOW. "Little Classic" style. 18mo. Each volume \$1.00; the set, thirty-one volumes in box, \$25.00; half calf, \$75.00.
- The following volumes of this series are not included elsewhere under the headings of separate European countries: VIII. Denmark, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden. XV. Belgium, Holland. XVI. Switzerland, Austria. XX. Russia, Asiatic Russia.
- A Poet's Bazaar. By HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN. A Tour in Germany, Italy, Greece, and the Orient. 12mo, \$1.50.
- Reminiscences of European Travel. By ANDREW P. PEABODY. 16mo, \$1.50.
- Roadside Poems for Summer Travelers. Selected by LUCY LARCOM. 18mo, \$1.00.
- A Roundabout Journey. By CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER. 12mo, \$1.50.
- Russian Central Asia. Including Kuldja, Bokhara, Khiva, and Merv. By HENRY LANSEDELL. With Appendices, Bibliography, Map, and Illustrations. 2 vols. 8vo, \$10.00.
- A Russian Journey. By EDNA DEAN PROCTOR. Illustrated. 12mo, \$2.00.
- The Russian Revolt. By EDMUND NOBLE. 16mo, \$1.00.
- Saunterings. By C. D. WARNER. European Travel Sketches. 18mo, \$1.25.
- Sights and Insights. By MRS. A. D. T. WHITNEY. A Story of European Travel. 2 vols. 12mo, \$3.00.
- Transatlantic Sketches. By HENRY JAMES. 12mo, \$2.00.
- Under the Rays of the Aurora Borealis: In the Land of the Lapps and Kvens. By SOPHUS TROMHOLT. With Map, Illustrations, Portraits, etc. 2 vols. 8vo, \$7.50.
- Ups and Downs on Land and Water. By AUGUSTUS HOPPIN. \$5.00.
- The Viking Bodleys. By HORACE E. SCUDDER. (The Bodleys in Norway and Denmark.) Illustrated. With ornamental cover. Small 4to, \$1.50.

\* \* For sale by all Booksellers. Sent, post-paid, on receipt of price by the Publishers,

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY,

4 PARK STREET, BOSTON; 11 EAST SEVENTEENTH STREET, NEW YORK.

AN EXTRAORDINARY BOOK.

---

# THE FAIR GOD;

OR,

THE LAST OF THE 'TZINS.

A TALE OF THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO.

By MAJOR-GENERAL LEW WALLACE.

Author of "BEN HUR."

12mo, 600 pages, price \$1.50.

---

This remarkable book was published in 1873, but its inherent interest is such that it has been in constant demand from that time to the present, and each succeeding year the demand is greater.

An extraordinary book. . . . The story opens with a brilliant picture of Tenochtitlan, richest and most beautiful of the Aztec cities, on the eve of the celebration of Quetzal, the Fair God. He was of marvelous beauty, wisdom, and kindness, and ages before had dwelt in the valley of Anahuac, teaching the people agriculture and the arts, and making them prosperous and happy. But at last they became ungrateful, overthrew his religion, drove him away, and set up idols for themselves. . . . Early in the sixteenth century the Aztecs were looking for the fulfillment of the prophecy of Quetzal's return, and were restless and anxious about it; and just this time General Wallace takes for his wonderful story. — *Boston Advertiser*.

We do not hesitate to say that the "Fair God" is one of the most powerful historical novels we have ever read. The scene where in the sunrise Montezuma reads his fate, the dance-scene, and the entry of the Spaniards to the capital, are drawn in a style of which we think few living writers capable; and the battles are Homeric in their grandeur. — *London Athenaeum*.

The reader who is fond of superficial compari-

sons may find some resemblance between the manner of Mr. Wallace and that of Carlyle. Carlyle, however, reproduces the facts of history in the form of romance; while Mr. Wallace clothes the creations of romance in the garb of history. — *New York Tribune*.

Take the poems of Ossian, the "Tales of the Thousand and One Nights," the novels of Kingsley and Bulwer, the historical romances of Scott, with the songs of Byron and Moore, blend them all in one, and the reader may form some idea of this really great novel. — *Chicago Inter-Ocean*.

In all the accessories to a complete historical romance, the author has perfected himself down to minutest details. Every feature of Aztec civilization necessary to render his task complete has been carefully studied and grandly set forth. — *New York Times*.

He has made us at home with the actors in that great drama of the sixteenth century, so that the veriest school-boy will turn from his tale to the pages of Prescott or of Helps with fresh comprehension of the subject of which they treat. . . . We heartily commend it. — *London Spectator*.

\*.\* For sale by all Booksellers. Sent by mail, post-paid, on receipt of price by the Publishers,

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY, BOSTON, MASS.







## The Riverside Paper Series.

A LIST OF THE NEW ISSUES FOR THE  
SUMMER OF 1886,

TOGETHER WITH THOSE PUBLISHED DURING THE  
SUMMER OF 1885.

The success of "The Riverside Paper Series," first issued last Summer, was so great that Messrs. HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & Co. have been led to continue the series for the Summer of 1886. Its aim is to furnish a collection of novels by the best American authors, which will combine excellence of typography and the most attractive appearance, with small cost.

During the last year the issues in the collection included novels by ALDRICH, HOLMES, HOWELLS, MISS PHELPS, BISHOP, and other well-known writers; and it will be seen that the programme for the Summer of 1886 contains volumes by authors of no less reputation. Of these, "Burglars in Paradise," by ELIZABETH STUART PHELPS, — a continuation of "An Old Maid's Paradise," published last year, and "The Man who was Guilty," have never before been issued in book form; while the "Cruise of the Alabama," a narrative of the late war, and "Not in the Prospectus," are entirely new. All the volumes of this series are copyrighted, and can be had in cheap form only in this series.

### Issues for 1886.

- May 15. BURGLARS IN PARADISE. By ELIZABETH STUART PHELPS.  
" 22. A PERFECT ADONIS. By MIRIAM COLES HARRIS, author of "Rutledge."  
" 29. STORIES AND ROMANCES. By HORACE E. SCUDDER.  
June 5. THE MAN WHO WAS GUILTY. By FLORA HAINES LOUGHEAD.  
" 12. A SUMMER IN LESLIE GOLDTHWAITE'S LIFE. By Mrs. A. D. T. WHITNEY. Illustrated.  
" 19. THE GUARDIAN ANGEL. By OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.  
" 26. THE CRUISE OF THE ALABAMA. By P. D. HAYWOOD.  
July 3. PRUDENCE PALFREY. By THOMAS BAILEY ALDRICH.  
" 10. PILOT FORTUNE. By MARIAN C. L. REEVES and EMILY READ.  
" 17. NOT IN THE PROSPECTUS. By PARKE DANFORTH.  
" 24. CHOY SUSAN, AND OTHER STORIES. By WILLIAM HENRY BISHOP.  
" 31. SAM LAWSON'S FIRESIDE STORIES. By HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.  
Aug. 7. A CHANCE ACQUAINTANCE. By WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS. Illustrated.

### Issues for 1885.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. BUT YET A WOMAN. By Arthur S. Hardy.              | 8. MARRIED FOR FUN. By an Anonymous Author.                  |
| 2. MISSY. By Mrs. Miriam Coles Harris.               | 9. AN OLD MAID'S PARADISE. By Elizabeth Stuart Phelps.       |
| 3. THE STILLWATER TRAGEDY. By Thomas Bailey Aldrich. | 10. THE HOUSE OF A MERCHANT PRINCE. By William Henry Bishop. |
| 4. ELSIE VENNER. By Oliver Wendell Holmes.           | 11. AN AMBITIOUS WOMAN. By Edgar Fawcett.                    |
| 5. AN EARNEST TRIFLER. By Mary A. Sprague.           | 12. MARJORIE'S QUEST. By Jeanie T. Gould (Mrs. Lincoln).     |
| 6. THE LAMPLIGHTER. By Maria S. Cummins.             | 13. HAMMERSMITH. By Mark Sibley Severance.                   |
| 7. THEIR WEDDING JOURNEY. By William D. Howells.     |  |

The books are of 16mo size, and are attractively bound in paper in uniform style. They are sold at 50 cents each, and the subscription for each series of thirteen numbers is \$6.50.

Houghton, Mifflin and Company, Publishers,

4 PARK STREET, BOSTON; 11 EAST SEVENTEENTH STREET, NEW YORK.

# F. M. HOLMES FURNITURE CO.

Price \$50 to \$100.



(Holmes Roll-Top Desk.  
Best Desk  
ever made.)

LEVI S. GOULD.

MANUFACTURERS OF

## FIRST-CLASS Study, Office, and House FURNITURE

OF ALL KINDS.

116 TREMONT STREET (Studio Building),  
BOSTON.



(Holmes Reclining Chair.  
Universally  
Popular.)

FRANK A. PATCH.

\$23 for Chair. \$5 for Book-Rest.

### *THE BEST PARALLEL BIBLE.*

## The Riverside PARALLEL BIBLE,

Containing the Authorized Version and the Revised Version in parallel columns. It comprises both the Old and the New Testaments, and is printed from large bourgeois type, two sizes larger than the type of the English Parallel Bibles.

The references in both Versions are given at the foot of the page.

The book contains about 1800 pages, quarto in form, and bound in such a way as to be at once perfectly flexible and firm.

It is printed in the most careful manner at the Riverside Press, and on account of its large type is the most desirable edition of the Complete Parallel Bible.

This Bible is admirably adapted for Pulpits, Clergymen, Sunday-School Superintendents and Teachers, and Families.

### **STYLES AND PRICES.**

This Bible is bound in three styles, — Cloth, Persian, and Full Morocco; and the prices are respectively \$6.00, \$12.00, and \$18.00.

It can be procured of Booksellers, or will be forwarded free of cost for transportation on receipt of price by the Publishers,

**HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY,**

4 PARK STREET, BOSTON, MASS.



